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THE WORKS OF WILLIAM H. PRESCOTT

TWENTY-TWO VOLUMES

VOL. XVII

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Montezuma Edition

HISTORY OF THE REIGN

OF

Philip the Second

KING OF SPAIN

The works of W. H. Prescott

BY

WILLIAM H. Ticknor PRESCOTT

EDITED BY

WILFRED HAROLD MUNRO

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN BROWN UNIVERSITY

AND COMPRISING THE NOTES OF THE EDITION BY
JOHN FOSTER KIRK

VOL. II

PHILADELPHIA AND LONDON
J. B. LIPPINCOTT COMPANY

PHILIP II. RECEIVING ISABELLA OF FRANCE ON THE EVE OF THEIR MARRIAGE

Page 63

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HISTORY OF PHILIP THE SECOND

BOOK II

(CONTINUED)

HISTORY OF PHILIP THE SECOND

CHAPTER II

SYSTEM ESTABLISHED BY PHILIP

Unpopular Manners of Philip—He enforces the Edicts—Increase of Bishoprics—Margaret of Parma Regent—Meeting of the States-General—Their spirited Conduct—Organization of the Councils—Rise and Character of Granvelle—Philip's Departure

1559

PHILIP THE SECOND was no stranger to the Netherlands. He had come there, as it will be remembered, when very young, to be presented by his father to his future subjects. On that occasion he had greatly disgusted the people by that impenetrable reserve which they construed into haughtiness, and which strongly contrasted with the gracious manners of the emperor. Charles saw with pain the impression which his son had left on his subjects; and the effects of his paternal admonitions were visible in a marked change in Philip's deportment on his subsequent visit to England. But nature lies deeper than manner; and when Philip returned, on his father's abdication, to assume the sovereignty of the Netherlands, he wore the same frigid exterior as in earlier days.

His first step was to visit the different provinces and receive from them their oaths of allegiance. No better occasion could be offered for conciliating the good will of the inhabitants. Everywhere his approach was greeted with festivities and public rejoicing. The gates of the capitals were thrown open to receive him, and the population thronged out, eager to do homage to their new sovereign. It was a season of jubilee for the whole nation.

In this general rejoicing, Philip's eye alone remained dark.[1] Shut up in his carriage, he seemed desirous to seclude himself from the gaze of his new subjects, who crowded around, anxious to catch a glimpse of their young monarch.[2] His conduct seemed like a rebuke of their enthusiasm. Thus chilled as they were in the first flow of their loyalty, his progress through the land, which should have won him all hearts, closed all hearts against him.

The emperor, when he visited the Netherlands, was like one coming back to his native country. He spoke the language of the people, dressed in their dress, conformed to their usages and way of

[1] It is the fine expression of Schiller, applied to Philip on another occasion. Abfall der Niederlande, p. 61.

[2] "Il se cachait ordinairement dans le fond de son carosse, pour se dérober à la curiosité d'un peuple qui courait audevant de lui et s'empressait à le voir; le peuple se crut dédaigné et méprisé." Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 17.—Coaches were a novelty then in Flanders, and indeed did not make their appearance till some years later in London. Sir Thomas Gresham writes from Antwerp, in 1560, "The Regent ys here still; and every other day rydes abowght this town in her cowche, *brave come le sol*, trymmed after the Itallione fasshone." Burgon, Life of Gresham, vol. i. p. 305.

life. But Philip was in every thing a Spaniard. He spoke only the Castilian. He adopted the Spanish etiquette and burdensome ceremonial. He was surrounded by Spaniards, and, with few exceptions, it was to Spaniards only that he gave his confidence. Charles had disgusted his Spanish subjects by the marked preference he had given to his Flemish. The reverse now took place, and Philip displeased the Flemings by his partiality for the Spaniards. The people of the Netherlands felt with bitterness that the sceptre of their country had passed into the hands of a foreigner.

During his progress Philip caused reports to be prepared for him of the condition of the several provinces, their population and trade,—presenting a mass of statistical details, in which, with his usual industry, he was careful to instruct himself. On his return, his first concern was to provide for the interests of religion. He renewed his father's edicts relating to the Inquisition, and in the following year confirmed the "placard" respecting heresy. In doing this, he was careful, by the politic advice of Granvelle, to conform as nearly as possible to the language of the original edicts, that no charge of innovation might be laid to him, and thus the odium of these unpopular measures might remain with their original author.[3]

But the object which Philip had most at heart was a reform much needed in the ecclesiastical establishment of the country. It may seem

[3] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 108, 126.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 10.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 107.

strange that in all the Netherlands there were but three bishoprics,—Arras, Tournay, and Utrecht. A large part of the country was incorporated with some one or other of the contiguous German dioceses. The Flemish bishoprics were of enormous extent. That of Utrecht alone embraced no less than three hundred walled towns and eleven hundred churches.[4] It was impossible that any pastor, however diligent, could provide for the wants of a flock so widely scattered, or that he could exercise supervision over the clergy themselves, who had fallen into a lamentable decay both of discipline and morals.

Still greater evils followed from the circumstance of the episcopal authority's being intrusted to foreigners. From their ignorance of the institutions of the Netherlands, they were perpetually trespassing on the rights of the nation. Another evil consequence was the necessity of carrying up ecclesiastical causes, by way of appeal, to foreign tribunals,—a thing, moreover, scarcely practicable in time of war.

Charles the Fifth, whose sagacious mind has left its impress on the permanent legislation of the Netherlands, saw the necessity of some reform in this matter. He accordingly applied to Rome for leave to erect six bishoprics, in addition to those previously existing in the country. But his attention was too much distracted by other objects to allow time for completing his design. With his son Philip, on the other hand, no object was allowed to come in competition with the interests

[4] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 94.

of the Church. He proposed to make the reform on a larger scale than his father had done, and applied to Paul the Fourth for leave to create fourteen bishoprics and three archbishoprics. The chief difficulty lay in providing for the support of the new dignitaries. On consultation with Granvelle, who had not been advised of the scheme till after Philip's application to Rome, it was arranged that the income should be furnished by the abbey lands of the respective dioceses, and that the abbeys themselves should hereafter be placed under the control of priors or provosts depending altogether on the bishops. Meanwhile, until the bulls should be received from Rome, it was determined to keep the matter profoundly secret. It was easy to foresee that a storm of opposition would arise, not only among those immediately interested in preserving the present order of things, but among the great body of the nobles, who would look with an evil eye on the admission into their ranks of so large a number of persons servilely devoted to the interests of the crown.[5]

Having concluded his arrangements for the internal settlement of the country, Philip naturally turned his thoughts towards Spain. He was the more desirous of returning thither from the reports he received that even that orthodox land was becoming every day more tainted with the heretical doctrines so rife in the neighboring countries.

[5] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 94.—Historia de los Alborotos de Flandes, por el Caballero Renom de Francia, Señor de Noyelles, y Presidente de Malinas, MS.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 31.

There were no hostilities to detain him longer in the Netherlands, now that the war with France had been brought to a close. The provinces, as we have already stated, had furnished the king with important aid for carrying on that war, by the grant of a stipulated annual tax for nine years. This had not proved equal to his necessities. It was in vain, however, to expect any further concessions from the states. They had borne not without murmurs the heavy burdens laid on them by Charles,—a monarch whom they loved. They bore still more impatiently the impositions of a prince whom they loved so little as Philip. Yet the latter seemed ready to make any sacrifice of his permanent interests for such temporary relief as would extricate him from his present embarrassments. His correspondence with Granvelle on the subject, unfolding the suicidal schemes which he submitted to that minister, might form an edifying chapter in the financial history of that day.[6] The difficulty of carrying on the government of the Netherlands in this crippled state of the finances doubtless strengthened the desire of the monarch to return to his native land, where the manners and habits of the people were so much more congenial with his own.

Before leaving the country, it was necessary to provide a suitable person to whom the reins of government might be intrusted. The duke of Savoy, who, since the emperor's abdication, had

[6] See, in particular, the king's letter in which he proposes to turn to his own account the sinking-fund provided by the states for the discharge of the debt they had already contracted for him, Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. v. p. 594.

held the post of regent, was now to return to his own dominions, restored to him by the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. There were several persons who presented themselves for this responsible office in the Netherlands. One of the most prominent was Lamoral, prince of Gavre, count of Egmont, the hero of St. Quentin and of Gravelines. The illustrious house from which he was descended, his chivalrous spirit, his frank and generous bearing, no less than his brilliant military achievements, had made him the idol of the people. There were some who insisted that these achievements inferred rather the successful soldier than the great captain,[7] and that, whatever merit he could boast in the field, it was no proof of his capacity for so important a civil station as that of governor of the Netherlands. Yet it could not be doubted that his nomination would be most acceptable to the people. This did not recommend him to Philip.

Another candidate was Christine, duchess of Lorraine, the king's cousin. The large estates of her house lay in the neighborhood of the Netherlands. She had shown her talent for political affairs by the part she had taken in effecting the arrangements of Cateau-Cambresis. The prince of Orange, lately become a widower, was desirous, it was said, of marrying her daughter. Neither did this prove a recommendation with Philip, who was by no means anxious to raise the house of

[7] "Il Duca de Sessa et il Conte d'Egmont hano acquistato il nome di Capitani nuovamente, perchè una giornata vinta o per virtù o per fortuna, una sola fattione ben riuscita, porta all' huomini riputatione et grandezza." Relatione di Soriano, MS.

Orange higher in the scale, still less to intrust it with the destinies of the Netherlands. In a word, the monarch had no mind to confide the regency of the country to any one of its powerful nobles.[8]

The individual on whom the king at length decided to bestow this mark of his confidence was his half-sister, Margaret, duchess of Parma. She was the natural daughter of Charles the Fifth, born about four years before his marriage with Isabella of Portugal. Margaret's mother, Margaret Vander Gheenst, belonged to a noble Flemish house. Her parents both died during her infancy. The little orphan was received into the family of Count Hoogstraten, who, with his wife, reared her with the same tenderness as they did their own offspring. At the age of seventeen she was unfortunate enough to attract the eye of Charles the Fifth, who, then in his twenty-third year, was captivated by the charms of the Flemish maiden. Margaret's virtue was not proof against the seductions of her royal suitor; and the victim of love—or of vanity—became the mother of a child, who received her own name of Margaret.

The emperor's aunt, then regent of the Netherlands, took charge of the infant; and on the death of that princess she was taken into the family of the emperor's sister, Mary, queen of Hungary, who succeeded in the regency. Margaret's birth did not long remain a secret; and she received an education suited to the high station she was to occupy in life. When only twelve years of age,

[8] Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 42.—Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.—Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 25.

MARGARET OF PARMA

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[3] Belgico, lib. i. p. 42.—Francia, Alborotos de [illegible]glio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 35.

Goupil & Cie. Paris

the emperor gave her in marriage to Alexander de' Medici, grand duke of Tuscany, some fifteen years older than herself. The ill-fated connection did not subsist long, as before twelve months had elapsed it was terminated by the violent death of her husband.

When she had reached the age of womanhood, the hand of the young widow was bestowed, together with the duchies of Parma and Placentia as her dowry, on Ottavio Farnese, grandson of Paul the Third. The bridegroom was but twelve years old. Thus again it was Margaret's misfortune that there should be such disparity between her own age and that of her husband as to exclude any thing like sympathy or similarity in their tastes. In the present instance, the boyish years of Ottavio inspired her with a sentiment not very different from contempt, that in later life settled into an indifference in which both parties appear to have shared, and which, as a contemporary remarks with *naïveté*, was only softened into a kindlier feeling when the husband and wife had been long separated from each other.[9] In truth, Margaret was too ambitious of power to look on her husband in any other light than that of a rival.

In her general demeanor, her air, her gait, she bore great resemblance to her aunt, the regent. Like her, Margaret was excessively fond of hunting, and she followed the chase with an intrepidity that might have daunted the courage of the keenest sportsman. She had but little of the natural softness that belongs to the sex, but in her whole

[9] Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 52.

deportment was singularly masculine: so that, to render the words of the historian by a homely phrase, in her woman's dress she seemed like a man in petticoats.[10] As if to add to the illusion, Nature had given her somewhat of a beard; and, to crown the whole, the malady to which she was constitutionally subject was a disease to which women are but rarely liable,—the gout.[11] It was good evidence of her descent from Charles the Fifth.

Though masculine in her appearance, Margaret was not destitute of the kindlier qualities which are the glory of her sex. Her disposition was good; but she relied much on the advice of others, and her more objectionable acts may probably be referred rather to their influence than to any inclination of her own.

Her understanding was excellent, her apprehension quick. She showed much versatility in accommodating herself to the exigencies of her position, as well as adroitness in the management of affairs, which she may have acquired in the schools of Italian politics. In religion she was as orthodox as Philip the Second could desire. The famous Ignatius Loyola had been her confessor in early days. The lessons of humility which he inculcated were not lost on her, as may be inferred

[10] "Sed etiam habitus quidam corporis incessusque, quo non tam femina sortita viri spiritus, quàm vir ementitus veste feminam videretur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, ubi supra.

[11] "Nec deerat aliqua mento superiorique labello barbula: ex qua virilis ei non magis species, quàm auctoritas conciliabatur. Immò, quod rarò in mulieres, nec nisi in prævalidas cadit, podagrâ idemtidem laborabat." Ibid., p. 53.

from the care she took to perform the ceremony, in Holy Week, of washing the dirty feet—she preferred them in this condition—of twelve poor maidens;[12] outstripping, in this particular, the humility of the pope himself. Such was the character of Margaret, duchess of Parma, who now, in the thirty-eighth year of her age, was called, at a most critical period, to take the helm of the Netherlands.

The appointment seems to have given equal satisfaction to herself and to her husband, and no objection was made to Philip's purpose of taking back with him to Castile their little son, Alexander Farnese,—a name destined to become in later times so renowned in the Netherlands. The avowed purpose was to give the boy a training suited to his rank, under the eye of Philip; combined with which, according to the historian, was the desire of holding a hostage for the fidelity of Margaret and of her husband, whose dominions in Italy lay contiguous to those of Philip in that country.[13]

Early in June, 1559, Margaret of Parma, having reached the Low Countries, made her entrance in great state into Brussels, where Philip awaited her, surrounded by his whole court of Spanish and Flemish nobles. The duke of Savoy was also present, as well as Margaret's husband,

[12] "Ob eam causam singulis annis, tum in sanctiori hebdomada, duodenis pauperibus puellis pedes (quos a sordibus purgatos antè vetuerat) abluebat." Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 53.

[13] Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. i. pp. 46–53, 543.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 2.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 13.

the duke of Parma, then in attendance on Philip. The appointment of Margaret was not distasteful to the people of the Netherlands, for she was their countrywoman, and her early days had been passed among them. Her presence was not less welcome to Philip, who looked forward with eagerness to the hour of his departure. His first purpose was to present the new regent to the nation, and for this he summoned a meeting of the states-general at Ghent in the coming August.

On the twenty-fifth of July he repaired with his court to this ancient capital, which still smarted under the effects of that chastisement of his father, which, terrible as it was, had not the power to break the spirits of the men of Ghent.* The presence of the court was celebrated with public rejoicings, which continued for three days, during which Philip held a chapter of the Golden Fleece

* [Ghent had been a commonwealth rather than a city, a republic in everything but the name. Its industries were so prodigious that bells were rung daily and drawbridges over the rivers and canals raised, that the workmen might go to and from their labor. It was governed by a senate of twenty-six members, subject to the Grand Council of Mechlin and the royal authority. The city formed one of the four estates of Flanders. The insurrection against Charles arose over a question of subsidies. His vengeance was terrible. For a month after his entrance into the city he kept its burghers in suspense Then, March 17, 1540, he beheaded nineteen of the ringleaders. He annulled the charters, privileges, and laws of the city; he confiscated all its public property; he ordered the great bell Roland, dear for centuries to the hearts of the people it had summoned to conflict, to be removed; he decreed a fine in addition to the subsidy which had caused the revolt; he took away from the citizens all power of electing their officers; he ordered the performance of a penance on the part of all the principal officers and of some hundred others. After the penance had been performed, in view of the penitence of the citizens, he was graciously pleased to accord them a pardon.—M.]

for the election of fourteen knights. The ceremony was conducted with the magnificence with which the meetings of this illustrious order were usually celebrated. It was memorable as the last chapter of it ever held.[14] Founded by the dukes of Burgundy, the order of the Golden Fleece drew its members immediately from the nobility of the Netherlands. When the Spanish sovereign, who remained at its head, no more resided in the country, the chapters were discontinued, and the knights derived their appointment from the simple nomination of the monarch.

On the eighth of August the states-general assembled at Ghent. The sturdy burghers who took their seats in this body came thither in no very friendly temper to the government. Various subjects of complaint had long been rankling in their bosoms, and now found vent in the form of animated and angry debate. The people had been greatly alarmed by the avowed policy of their rulers to persevere in the system of religious persecution, as shown especially by the revival of the ancient edicts against heresy and in support of the Inquisition. Rumors had gone abroad, probably with exaggeration, of the proposed episcopal reforms. However necessary, they were now regarded only as part of the great scheme of persecution. Different nations, it was urged, required to be guided by different laws. What suited the Spaniards would not for that reason suit the people of the Netherlands. The Inquisition was ill adapted to men accustomed from their cradles

[14] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 21.

to freedom of thought and action. Persecution was not to be justified in matters of conscience, and men were not to be reclaimed from spiritual error by violence, but by gentleness and persuasion.

But what most called forth the invective of the Flemish orators was the presence of a large body of foreign troops in the country. When Philip disbanded his forces after the French war had terminated, there still remained a corps of the old Spanish infantry, amounting to some three or four thousand, which he thought proper to retain in the western provinces. His avowed object was to protect the country from any violence on the part of the French. Another reason assigned by him was the difficulty of raising funds to pay their arrears. The true motive, in the opinion of the states, was to enforce the execution of the new measures and overcome any resistance that might be made in the country. These troops, like most of the soldiers of that day, who served for plunder quite as much as for pay, had as little respect for the rights or the property of their allies as for those of their enemies. They quartered themselves on the peaceful inhabitants of the country, and obtained full compensation for loss of pay by a system of rapine and extortion that beggared the people and drove them to desperation. Conflicts with the soldiery occasionally occurred, and in some parts the peasantry even refused to repair the dikes, in order to lay the country under water rather than submit to such outrages! "How is it," exclaimed the bold syndic of Ghent, "that we

find foreign soldiers thus quartered on us, in open violation of our liberties? Are not our own troops able to protect us from the dangers of invasion? Must we be ground to the dust by the exactions of these mercenaries in peace, after being burdened with the maintenance of them in war?" These remonstrances were followed by a petition to the throne, signed by members of the other orders as well as the commons, requesting that the king would be graciously pleased to respect the privileges of the nation and send back the foreign troops to their own homes.

Philip, who sat in the assembly with his sister, the future regent, by his side, was not prepared for this independent spirit in the burghers of the Netherlands. The royal ear had been little accustomed to this strain of invective from the subject. For it was rare that the tone of remonstrance was heard in the halls of Castilian legislation, since the power of the commons had been broken on the field of Villalar. Unable or unwilling to conceal his displeasure, the king descended from his throne and abruptly quitted the assembly.[15]

Yet he did not, like Charles the First of England, rashly vent his indignation by imprisoning or persecuting the members who had roused it. Even the stout syndic of Ghent was allowed to go unharmed. Philip looked above him to a mark more worthy of his anger,—to those of the higher orders who had encouraged the spirit of resistance

[15] Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 27, et seq.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 2.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, lib. i. p. 57.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 22.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 24.—Schiller, Abfall der Niederlande, p. 84.

in the commons. The most active of these malecontents was William of Orange. That noble, as it may be remembered, was one of the hostages who remained at the court of Henry the Second for the fulfilment of the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis. While there, a strange disclosure was made to the prince by the French monarch, who told him that, through the duke of Alva, a secret treaty had been entered into with his master, the king of Spain, for the extirpation of heresy throughout their dominions. This inconsiderate avowal of the French king was made to William on the supposition that he was stanch in the Roman Catholic faith and entirely in his master's confidence. Whatever may have been the prince's claims to orthodoxy at this period, it is certain he was not in Philip's confidence. It is equally certain that he possessed one Christian virtue which belonged neither to Philip nor to Henry,—the virtue of toleration. Greatly shocked by the intelligence he had received, William at once communicated it to several of his friends in the Netherlands. One of the letters, unfortunately, fell into Philip's hands. The prince soon after obtained permission to return to his own country, bent, as he tells us in his Apology, on ridding it of the Spanish vermin.[16] Philip, who understood the temper of his mind, had his eye on his movements, and knew well to what source, in part at least, he was to attribute the present opposition.

[16] "Je confesse que je fus tellement esmeu de pitié et de compassion que dès lors j'entrepris à bon escient d'ayder à faire chasser cette vermine d'Espaignols hors de ce Pays." Apology of the Prince of Orange, ap. Dumont, Corps diplomatique, tom. v. p. 392.

It was not long after that a Castilian courtier intimated to the prince of Orange and to Egmont that it would be well for them to take heed to themselves,—that the names of those who had signed the petition for the removal of the troops had been noted down, and that Philip and his council were resolved, when a fitting occasion offered, to call them to a heavy reckoning for their temerity.[17]

Yet the king so far yielded to the wishes of the people as to promise the speedy departure of the troops. But no power on earth could have been strong enough to shake his purpose where the interests of religion were involved. Nor would he abate one jot of the stern provisions of the edicts. When one of his ministers, more hardy than the rest, ventured to suggest to him that perseverance in this policy might cost him the sovereignty of the provinces, "Better not reign at all," he answered, "than reign over heretics!" [18]—an answer extolled by some as the height of the sublime, by others derided as the extravagance of a fanatic. In whatever light we view it, it must be admitted to furnish the key to the permanent policy of Philip in his government of the Netherlands.

Before dissolving the states-general, Philip, unacquainted with the language of the country,

[17] "Que le Roi et son Conseil avoyent arresté que tous ceux qui avoient consenti et signé la Requeste, par laquelle on demandoit que la Gendarmerie Espaignolle s'en allast, qu'on auroit souvenance de les chastier avec le temps, et quand la commodité s'en presenteroit, et qu'il les en advertissoit comme amy." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 25.

[18] "Che egli voleva piuttosto restar senza regni, che possedergli con l'eresia." Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 31.

addressed the deputies through the mouth of the bishop of Arras. He expatiated on the warmth of his attachment to his good people of the Netherlands, and paid them a merited tribute for their loyalty both to his father and to himself. He enjoined on them to show similar respect to the regent, their own countrywoman, into whose hands he had committed the government. They would reverence the laws and maintain public tranquillity. Nothing would conduce to this so much as the faithful execution of the edicts. It was their sacred duty to aid in the extermination of heretics, —the deadliest foes both of God and their sovereign. Philip concluded by assuring the states that he should soon return in person to the Netherlands, or send his son Don Carlos as his representative.

The answer of the legislature was temperate and respectful. They made no allusion to Philip's proposed ecclesiastical reforms, as he had not authorized this by any allusion to them himself. They still pressed, however, the removal of the foreign troops, and the further removal of all foreigners from office, as contrary to the constitution of the land. This last shaft was aimed at Granvelle, who held a high post in the government and was understood to be absolute in the confidence of the king. Philip renewed his assurances of the dismissal of the forces, and that within the space, as he promised, of four months. The other request of the deputies he did not condescend to notice. His feelings on the subject were intimated in an exclamation he made to one

of his ministers: "I too am a foreigner: will they refuse to obey me as their sovereign?" [19]

The regent was to be assisted in the government by three councils which of old time had existed in the land: the council of finance, for the administration, as the name implies, of the revenues; the privy council, for affairs of justice and the internal concerns of the country; and the council of state, for matters relating to peace and war, and the foreign policy of the nation. Into this last, the supreme council, entered several of the Flemish nobles, and among them the prince of Orange and Count Egmont. There were, besides, Count Barlaimont, president of the council of finance, Viglius, president of the privy council, and lastly Granvelle, bishop of Arras.

The regent was to act with the co-operation of these several bodies in their respective departments. In the conduct of the government she was to be guided by the council of state. But, by private instructions of Philip, questions of a more delicate nature, involving the tranquillity of the country, might be first submitted to a select portion of this council; and in such cases, or when a spirit of faction had crept into the council, the regent, if she deemed it for the interest of the state, might adopt the opinion of the minority. The select body with whom Margaret was to advise in the more important matters was termed the *Consulta;* and the members who composed it

[19] Ranke, Spanish Empire, p. 81.—Schiller, Abfall der Niederlande, p. 85.—Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 27.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 57.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 25.

were Barlaimont, Viglius, and the bishop of Arras.[20]

The first of these men, Count Barlaimont, belonged to an ancient Flemish family. With respectable talents and constancy of purpose, he was entirely devoted to the interests of the crown. The second, Viglius, was a jurist of extensive erudition, at this time well advanced in years, and with infirmities that might have pressed heavily on a man less patient of toil. He was personally attached to Granvelle; and as his views of government coincided very nearly with that minister's, Viglius was much under his influence. The last of the three, Granvelle, from his large acquaintance with affairs, and his adroitness in managing them, was far superior to his colleagues;[21] and he soon acquired such an ascendency over them that the government may be said to have rested on his shoulders. As there is no man who for some years is to take so prominent a part in the story of the Netherlands, it will be proper to introduce the

[20] The existence of such a confidential body proved a fruitful source of disaster. The names of the parties who composed it are not given in the instructions to the regent, which leave all to her discretion. According to Strada, however, the royal will in the matter was plainly intimated by Philip. (De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 57.) Copies of the regent's commission, as well as of two documents, the one endorsed as "private," the other as "secret" instructions, and all three bearing the date of August 8th, 1559, are to be found entire in the Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendix, Nos. 2–4.

[21] "Ma non val tanto alcuno dell' altri nè tutt' insieme quanto Monsr. d' Aras solo, il quale, per il gran giudicio che ha et per la lunga prattica del governo del mondo, et nel tentar l' imprese grandi più accorto et più animoso di tutti, più destro et più sicuro nel maneggiarle, et nel finirle più constante et piu risoluto." Relatione di Soriano, MS.

reader to some acquaintance with his earlier history.

Anthony Perrenot—whose name of Granvelle was derived from an estate purchased by his father—was born in the year 1517, at Besançon, a town in Franche-Comté. His father, Nicholas Perrenot, founded the fortunes of the family, and from the humble condition of a poor country attorney rose to the rank of chancellor of the empire. This extraordinary advancement was not owing to caprice, but to his unwearied industry, extensive learning, and a clear and comprehensive intellect, combined with steady devotion to the interests of his master, Charles the Fifth. His talent for affairs led him to be employed not merely in official business, but in diplomatic missions of great importance. In short, he possessed the confidence of the emperor to a degree enjoyed by no other subject; and when the chancellor died, in 1550, Charles pronounced his eulogy to Philip in a single sentence, saying that in Granvelle they had lost the man on whose wisdom they could securely repose.[22]

Anthony Perrenot, distinguished from his father in later times as Cardinal Granvelle, was the eldest of eleven children. In his childhood he discovered such promise that the chancellor bestowed much pains personally on his instruction. At fourteen he was sent to Padua, and after some years was removed to Louvain, then the university

[22] "Mio figliuolo, et io e voi habbiamo perso un buon letto di riposo,"—literally, a good bed to repose on. Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 195.

of greatest repute in the Netherlands. It was not till later that the seminary of Douay was founded, under the auspices of Philip the Second.[23] At the university the young Perrenot soon distinguished himself by the vivacity of his mind, the acuteness of his perceptions, an industry fully equal to his father's, and remarkable powers of acquisition. Besides a large range of academic study, he made himself master of seven languages, so as to read and converse in them with fluency. He seemed to have little relish for the amusements of the youth of his own age. His greatest amusement was a book. Under this incessant application his health gave way, and for a time his studies were suspended.

Whether from his father's preference or his own, young Granvelle embraced the ecclesiastical profession. At the age of twenty-one he was admitted to orders. The son of the chancellor was not slow in his advancement, and he was soon possessed of several good benefices. But the ambitious and worldly temper of Granvelle was not to be satisfied with the humble duties of the ecclesiastic. It was not long before he was called to court by his father, and there a brilliant career was opened to his aspiring genius.

The young man soon showed such talent for business, and such shrewd insight into character,

[23] A principal motive of Philip the Second in founding this university, according to Hopper, was to give Flemings the means of getting a knowledge of the French language without going abroad into foreign countries for it. Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas, cap. 2, ap. Hoynck, Analecta, Belgica, tom. ii.

as, combined with the stores of learning he had at his command, made his services of great value to his father. He accompanied the chancellor on some of his public missions, among others to the Council of Trent, where the younger Granvelle, who had already been promoted to the see of Arras, first had the opportunity of displaying that subtle, insinuating eloquence which captivated as much as it convinced.

The emperor saw with satisfaction the promise afforded by the young statesman, and looked forward to the time when he would prove the same pillar of support to his administration that his father had been before him. Nor was that time far distant. As the chancellor's health declined, the son became more intimately associated with his father in the counsels of the emperor. He justified this confidence by the unwearied toil with which he devoted himself to the business of the cabinet,—a toil to which even night seemed to afford no respite. He sometimes employed five secretaries at once, dictating to them in as many different languages.[24] The same thing, or something as miraculous, has been told of other remarkable men, both before and since. As a mere *tour de force*, Granvelle may possibly have amused himself with it. But is was not in this way that the correspondence was written which furnishes the best key to the events of the time. If it had

[24] "On remarque de lui ce qu'on avoit remarqué de César, et même d'une façon plus singulière, c'est qu'il occupoit cinq secrétaires à la fois, en leur dictant des lettres en différentes langues." Levesque, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cardinal de Granvelle (Paris, 1753), tom. i. p. 215.

been so written, it would never have been worth the publication.

Every evening Granvelle presented himself before the emperor and read to him the programme he had prepared of the business of the following day, with his own suggestions.[25] The foreign ambassadors who resided at the court were surprised to find the new minister so entirely in the secrets of his master, and that he was as well instructed in all their doings as the emperor himself.[26] In short, the confidence of Charles, given slowly and with much hesitation, was at length bestowed as freely on the son as it had been on the father. The two Granvelles may be truly said to have been the two persons who most possessed the confidence of the emperor, from the time that he took the reins of government into his own hands.

When raised to the see of Arras, Granvelle was but twenty-five years old. It is rare that the mitre has descended on a man of a more ambitious spirit. Yet Granvelle was not averse to the good things of the world, nor altogether insensible to its pomps and vanities. He affected great state in his manner of living, and thus necessity, no less than taste, led him to covet the possession of wealth as well as

[25] "Di modo che ogni sera sopra un foglio di carta che lor chiamano beliero esso Granvela manda all' Imperatore il suo parere del quale sopra li negotii del siguente giorno sua maestà ha da fare." Relatione di Soriano, MS.

[26] "Havendo prima lui senza risolvere cosa alcuna mandata ogn' informatione et ogni particolare negotiatione con gli Ambasciatori et altri ad esso Monsignore, di modo che et io et tutti gl' altri Ambasciatori si sono avveduti essendo rimesse a Monsignor Granvela che sua Eccellenza ha inteso ogni particolare et quasi ogni parola passata fra l' Imperatore et loro." Relatione di Soriano, MS.

of power. He obtained both; and his fortunes were rapidly advancing when, by the abdication of his royal master, the sceptre passed into the hands of Philip the Second.

Charles recommended Granvelle to his son as every way deserving of his confidence. Granvelle knew that the best recommendation—the only effectual one—must come from himself. He studied carefully the character of his new sovereign, and showed a wonderful flexibility in conforming to his humors. The ambitious minister proved himself no stranger to those arts by which great minds, as well as little ones, sometimes condescend to push their fortunes in a court.

Yet, in truth, Granvelle did not always do violence to his own inclinations in conforming to those of Philip. Like the king, he did not come rapidly to results, but pondered long, and viewed a question in all its bearings, before arriving at a decision. He had, as we have seen, the same patient spirit of application as Philip, so that both may be said to have found their best recreation in labor. Neither was he less zealous than the king for the maintenance of the true faith, though his accommodating nature, if left to itself, might have sanctioned a different policy from that dictated by the stern, uncompromising spirit of his master.

Granvelle's influence was further aided by the charms of his personal intercourse. His polished and insinuating manners seem to have melted even the icy reserve of Philip. He maintained his influence by his singular tact in suggesting hints for carrying out his master's policy, in such a way that

the suggestion might seem to have come from the king himself. Thus careful not to alarm the jealousy of his sovereign, he was content to forego the semblance of power for the real possession of it.[27]

It was soon seen that he was as well settled in the confidence of Philip as he had previously been in that of Charles.* Notwithstanding the apparent distribution of power between the regent and the several councils, the arrangements made by the king were such as to throw the real authority into the hands of Granvelle. Thus the rare example was afforded of the same man continuing the favorite of two successive sovereigns. Granvelle did not escape the usual fate of favorites; and whether from the necessity of the case, or that, as some

[27] A striking example of the manner in which Granvelle conveyed his own views to the king is shown by a letter to Philip dated Brussels, July 17th, 1559, in which the minister suggests the arguments that might be used to the authorities of Brabant for enforcing the edicts. The letter shows, too, that Granvelle, if possessed naturally of a more tolerant spirit than Philip, could accommodate himself so far to the opposite temper of his master as to furnish him with some very plausible grounds for persecution. Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. v. p. 614.

* [This is greatly overstated. At the accession of Philip, and during his stay in the Netherlands, Granvelle found his position very different from that which he had occupied under Charles. The jealousy of Ruy Gomez, the king's favorite, and of the other Spanish ministers, was too watchful to allow the insinuating and serviceable *Franche-comtois* to obtain any personal influence with Philip. His opposition to the war with the pope, attributed to his desire for the cardinalate, increased the disfavor into which he had fallen. He attended the meetings of the council only when summoned, which was very rarely. (See the Relazioni of Badoero and Soriano.) His rivals were very willing that he should be left at Brussels as chief minister of the regent. But his own ambition was to fill the same post in the cabinet at Madrid; and he attained this object many years later, when the situation of affairs rendered his knowledge and talents indispensable.—K.]

pretend, he did not on his elevation bear his faculties too meekly, no man was so generally and so heartily detested throughout the country.[28]

Before leaving the Netherlands, Philip named the governors of the several provinces,—the nominations, for the most part, only confirming those already in office. Egmont had the governments of Flanders and Artois; the prince of Orange, those of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and West Friesland. The commission to William, running in the usual form, noticed "the good, loyal, and notable services he had rendered both to the emperor and his present sovereign."[29] The command of two battalions of the Spanish army was also given to the two nobles,—a poor contrivance for reconciling the nation to the continuance of these detested troops in the country.

Philip had anxiously waited for the arrival of the papal bull which was to authorize the erection of the bishoprics. Granvelle looked still more anx-

[28] Levesque, Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. i. p. 207, et seq.—Courchetet, Histoire du Cardinal de Granvelle (Bruxelles, 1784), tom. i., passim.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 85.—Burgon, Life of Gresham, vol. i. p. 267.—The author of the Mémoirs de Granvelle was a member of a Benedictine convent in Besançon, which, by a singular chance, became possessed of the manuscripts of Cardinal Granvelle more than a century after his death. The good Father Levesque made but a very indifferent use of the rich store of materials placed at his disposal, by digesting them into two duodecimo volumes, in which the little that is of value seems to have been pilfered from the unpublished MS. of a previous biographer of the Cardinal. The work of the Benedictine, however, has the merit of authenticity. I shall take occasion hereafter to give a more particular account of the Granvelle collection.

[29] "En considération des bons, léaux, notables et agréables services faits par lui, pendant plusieurs années, à feu l'Empereur, et depuis au Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 184.

iously for it. He had read the signs of the coming storm, and would gladly have encountered it when the royal presence might have afforded some shelter from its fury. But the court of Rome moved at its usual dilatory pace, and the apostolic nuncio did not arrive with the missive till the eve of Philip's departure,—too late for him to witness its publication.[30]

Having completed all his arrangements, about the middle of August the king proceeded to Zealand, where, in the port of Flushing, lay a gallant fleet, waiting to take him and the royal suite to Spain. It consisted of fifty Spanish and forty other vessels,—all well manned, and victualled for a much longer voyage.[31] Philip was escorted to the place of embarkation by a large body of Flemish nobles, together with the foreign ambassadors and the duke and duchess of Savoy. A curious scene is reported to have taken place as he was about to go on board. Turning abruptly round to the prince of Orange, who had attended him on the journey, he bluntly accused him of being the true source of the opposition which his measures had encountered in the states-general. William, astonished at the suddenness of the attack, replied that the opposition was to be regarded, not as the act of an individual, but of the states. "No," rejoined the incensed monarch, shaking

[30] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 69, et seq.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 40.—Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, cap. 2.—Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

[31] The royal larder seems to have been well supplied in the article of poultry, to judge from one item, mentioned by Meteren, of fifteen thousand capons. Hist. des Pays-Bas, tom. i. fol. 25.

him at the same time violently by the wrist, "not the states, but you, you, you!"[32] an exclamation deriving additional bitterness from the fact that the word *you*, thus employed, in the Castilian was itself indicative of contempt. William did not think it prudent to reply, nor did he care to trust himself with the other Flemish lords on board the royal squadron.[33]

The royal company being at length all on board, on the twentieth of August, 1559, the fleet weighed anchor; and Philip, taking leave of the duke and duchess of Savoy, and the rest of the noble train who attended his embarkation, was

[32] "Le Roi le prenant par le poignet, et le lui secoüant, repliqua en Espagnol, *No los Estados, mas vos, vos, vos*, repétant ce *vos* par trois fois, terme de mépris chez les Espagnols, qui veut dire toy, toy en François." Aubéri, Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire d'Hollande et des autres Provinces-Unies (Paris, 1711), p. 7.

[33] One might wish the authority for this anecdote better than it is, considering that it is contradicted by the whole tenor of Philip's life, in which self-command was a predominant trait. The story was originally derived from Aubéri (loc. cit.). The chronicler had it, as he tells us, from his father, to whom it was told by an intimate friend of the prince of Orange, who was present at the scene. Aubéri, though a dull writer, was, according to Voltaire's admission, well informed,—"écrivain médiocre, mais fort instruit." *

* [Had Aubéri been a "well informed" writer, he would not have represented the use of the pronoun of the second person plural, in a case like the present, as a mark of contempt, since this was the mode in which the Spanish sovereigns invariably addressed a subject, of whatever rank. It is thus that Philip addresses Cardinal Granvelle in his letters, and that he himself was addressed by Charles V. A stronger objection to the story itself is its inconsistency with the tone of the letters exchanged between Philip and the prince of Orange soon after the former's arrival in Spain. From these, as well as from the other correspondence of the time, it is clear not only that no open breach had yet occurred, but that the king was still far from having penetrated the real feelings and designs of the most profound dissembler—as well as greatest and most patriotic statesman—of the age.—K.]

soon wafted from the shores,—to which he was never to return.

Luc-Jean-Joseph Vandervynckt, to whom I have repeatedly had occasion to refer in the course of the preceding chapter, was a Fleming,—born at Ghent in 1691. He was educated to the law, became eminent in his profession, and at the age of thirty-eight was made a member of the council of Flanders. He employed his leisure in studying the historical antiquities of his own country. At the suggestion of Coblentz, prime minister of Maria Theresa, he compiled his work on the Troubles of the Netherlands. It was designed for the instruction of the younger branches of the imperial family, and six copies only of it were at first printed, in 1765. Since the author's death, which took place in 1779, when he had reached the great age of eighty-eight, the work has been repeatedly published.

As Vandervynckt had the national archives thrown open to his inspection, he had access to the most authentic sources of information. He was a man of science and discernment, fair-minded, and temperate in his opinions, which gives value to a book that contains, moreover, much interesting anecdote, not elsewhere to be found. The work, though making only four volumes, covers a large space of historical ground,—from the marriage of Philip the Fair, in 1495, to the peace of Westphalia, in 1648. Its literary execution is by no means equal to its other merits. The work is written in French; but Vandervynckt, unfortunately, while he both wrote and spoke Flemish, and even Latin, with facility, was but indifferently acquainted with French.

CHAPTER III

PROTESTANTISM IN SPAIN

Philip's Arrival in Spain—The Reformed Doctrines—Their Suppression—Autos de Fé—Prosecution of Carranza—Extinction of Heresy—Fanaticism of the Spaniards

1559

THE voyage of King Philip was a short and prosperous one. On the twenty-ninth of August, 1559, he arrived off the port of Laredo. But while he was in sight of land, the weather, which had been so propitious, suddenly changed. A furious tempest arose, which scattered his little navy. Nine of the vessels foundered, and though the monarch had the good fortune, under the care of an experienced pilot, to make his escape in a boat and reach the shore in safety, he had the mortification to see the ship which had borne him go down with the rest, and with her the inestimable cargo he had brought from the Low Countries. It consisted of curious furniture, tapestries, gems, pieces of sculpture, and paintings,—the rich productions of Flemish and Italian art, which his father, the emperor, had been employed many years of his life in collecting. Truly was it said of Charles that "he had sacked the land only to feed the ocean."[1] To add to the calamity, more

[1] "Carlo V. haueua saccheggiato la Terra, per arrichirne il Mare." Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 335.

than a thousand persons perished in this shipwreck.[2]

The king, without delay, took the road to Valladolid; but on arriving at that capital, whether depressed by his late disaster, or from his habitual dislike of such empty parade, he declined the honors with which the loyal inhabitants would have greeted the return of their sovereign to his dominions. Here he was cordially welcomed by his sister, the Regent Joanna, who, long since weary of the cares of sovereignty, resigned the sceptre into his hands with a better will than that with which most persons would have received it. Here, too, he had the satisfaction of embracing his son Carlos, the heir to his empire. The length of Philip's absence may have allowed him to see some favorable change in the person of the young prince, though, if report be true, there was little change for the better in his disposition, which, headstrong and imperious, had already begun to make men tremble for the future destinies of their country.

Philip had not been many days in Valladolid when his presence was celebrated by one of those exhibitions which, unhappily for Spain, may be called national. This was an *auto de fé*, not, however, as formerly, of Jews and Moors, but of Spanish Protestants. The Reformation had been silently, but not slowly, advancing in the Peninsula; and intelligence of this, as we have already seen, was one cause of Philip's abrupt departure

[2] Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 3.—Sepulveda, De Rebus gestis Philippi II., Opera, tom. iii. p. 53.—Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 335.

from the Netherlands. The brief but disastrous attempt at a religious revolution in Spain is an event of too much importance to be passed over in silence by the historian.

Notwithstanding the remote position of Spain, under the imperial sceptre of Charles she was brought too closely into contact with the other states of Europe not to feel the shock of the great religious reform which was shaking those states to their foundations. Her most intimate relations, indeed, were with those very countries in which the seeds of the Reformation were first planted. It was no uncommon thing for Spaniards, in the sixteenth century, to be indebted for some portion of their instruction to German universities. Men of learning, who accompanied the emperor, became familiar with the religious doctrines so widely circulated in Germany and Flanders. The troops gathered the same doctrines from the Lutheran soldiers who occasionally served with them under the imperial banners. These opinions, crude for the most part as they were, they brought back to their own country; and a curiosity was roused which prepared the mind for the reception of the great truths which were quickening the other nations of Europe. Men of higher education, on their return to Spain, found the means of disseminating these truths. Secret societies were established; meetings were held; and, with the same secrecy as in the days of the early Christians, the gospel was preached and explained to the growing congregation of the faithful. The greatest difficulty was the want of books. The enterprise

of a few self-devoted proselytes at length overcame this difficulty. A Castilian version of the Bible had been printed in Germany. Various Protestant publications, whether originating in the Castilian or translated into that language, appeared in the same country. A copy now and then, in the possession of some private individual, had found its way, without detection, across the Pyrenees. These instances were rare, when a Spaniard named Juan Hernandez, resident in Geneva, where he followed the business of a corrector of the press, undertook, from no other motive but zeal for the truth, to introduce a larger supply of the forbidden fruit into his native land.

With great adroitness, he evaded the vigilance of the custom-house officers, and the more vigilant spies of the Inquisition, and in the end succeeded in landing two large casks filled with prohibited works, which were quickly distributed among the members of the infant church. Other intrepid converts followed the example of Hernandez, and with similar success; so that, with the aid of books and spiritual teachers, the number of the faithful multiplied daily throughout the country.[3] Among

[3] The editors of the "Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España," in a very elaborate notice of the prosecution of Archbishop Carranza, represent the literary intercourse between the German and Spanish Protestants as even more extensive than it is stated to be in the text. According to them, a regular *dépôt* was established at Medina del Campo and Seville for the sale of the forbidden books at very low rates: "De las imprentas de Alemania se despachaban á Flandes, y desde alli á España, al principio por los puertos de mar, y despues cuando ya hubo mas vigilancia de parte del gobierno, los enviaban á Leon de Francia desde donde se introducian en la península por Navarra y Aragon. Un tal Vilman librero de Amberes tenia tienda en Medina del campo y en Sevilla donde vendia

this number was a much larger proportion, it was observed, of persons of rank and education than is usually found in like cases; owing doubtless to the circumstance that it was this class of persons who had most frequented the countries where the Lutheran doctrines were taught. Thus the Reformed Church grew and prospered, not indeed as it had prospered in the freer atmospheres of Germany and Britain, but as well as it could possibly do under the blighting influence of the Inquisition; like some tender plant, which, nurtured in the shade, waits only for a more genial season for its full expansion. That season was not in reserve for it in Spain.

It may seem strange that the spread of the Reformed religion should so long have escaped the detection of the agents of the Holy Office. Yet it is certain that the first notice which the Spanish inquisitors received of the fact was from their brethren abroad. Some ecclesiastics in the train of Philip, suspecting the heresy of several of their own countrymen in the Netherlands, had them seized and sent to Spain, to be examined by the Inquisition. On a closer investigation, it was found that a correspondence had long been maintained between these persons and their countrymen, of a similar persuasion with themselves, at home. Thus the existence, though not the extent, of the Spanish Reformation was made known.[4]

las obras de los protestantes en español y latin. Estos libros de Francfort se daban á buen mercado para que circulasen con mayor facilidad." Documentos inéditos, tom. v. p. 399.

[4] For the preceding pages, see Llorente, Histoire de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 282, tom. iii. pp. 191, 258.—Montanus, Dis-

No sooner was the alarm sounded than Paul the Fourth, quick to follow up the scent of heresy in any quarter of his pontifical dominions, issued a brief, in February, 1558, addressed to the Spanish inquisitor-general. In this brief, his holiness enjoins it on the head of the tribunal to spare no efforts to detect and exterminate the growing evil; and he empowers that functionary to arraign and bring to condign punishment all suspected of heresy, of whatever rank or profession,—whether bishops or archbishops, nobles, kings, or emperors. Paul the Fourth was fond of contemplating himself as seated in the chair of the Innocents and the Gregories, and like them setting his pontifical foot on the necks of princes. His natural arrogance was probably not diminished by the concessions which Philip the Second had thought proper to make to him at the close of the Roman war.

Philip, far from taking umbrage at the swelling tone of this apostolical mandate, followed it up, in the same year, by a monstrous edict, borrowed from one in the Netherlands, which condemned all who bought, sold, or read prohibited works to be burned alive.

In the following January, Paul, to give greater efficacy to this edict, published another bull, in which he commanded all confessors, under pain of excommunication, to enjoin on their penitents to inform against all persons, however nearly allied to them, who might be guilty of such practices.

covery and playne Declaration of sundry subtill Practises of the Holy Inquisition of Spayne (London, 1569), p. 73.—Sepulveda, Opera, tom. iii. p. 54.

To quicken the zeal of the informer, Philip, on his part, revived a law fallen somewhat into disuse, by which the accuser was to receive one-fourth of the confiscated property of the convicted party. And, finally, a third bull from Paul allowed the inquisitors to withhold a pardon from the recanting heretic if any doubt existed of his sincerity, thus placing the life as well as fortune of the unhappy prisoner entirely at the mercy of judges who had an obvious interest in finding him guilty. In this way the pope and the king continued to play into each other's hands, and while his holiness artfully spread the toils, the king devised the means for driving the quarry into them.[5]

Fortunately for these plans, the Inquisition was at this time under the direction of a man peculiarly fitted to execute them. This was Fernando Valdés, cardinal-archbishop of Seville, a person of a hard, inexorable nature, and possessed of as large a measure of fanaticism as ever fell to grand inquisitor since the days of Torquemada. Valdés readily availed himself of the terrible machinery placed under his control. Careful not to alarm the suspected parties, his approaches were slow and stealthy. He was the chief of a tribunal which sat in darkness and which dealt by invisible agents. He worked long and silently under ground before firing the mine which was to bury his enemies in a general ruin.

His spies were everywhere abroad, mingling with the suspected and insinuating themselves into

[5] Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. i. pp. 470, 471; tom. ii. pp. 183, 184, 215–217.

their confidence. At length, by the treachery of some, and by working on the nervous apprehensions or the religious scruples of others, he succeeded in detecting the lurking-places of the new heresy and the extent of ground which it covered. This was much larger than had been imagined, although the Reformation in Spain seemed less formidable from the number of its proselytes than from their character and position. Many of them were ecclesiastics, especially intrusted with maintaining the purity of the faith. The quarters in which the heretical doctrines most prevailed were Aragon, which held an easy communication with the Huguenots of France, and the ancient cities of Seville and Valladolid, indebted less to any local advantages than to the influence of a few eminent men who had early embraced the faith of the Reformers.

At length, the preliminary information having been obtained, the proscribed having been marked out, the plan of attack settled, an order was given for the simultaneous arrest of all persons supected of heresy, throughout the kingdom. It fell like a thunderbolt on the unhappy victims, who had gone on with their secret associations, little suspecting the ruin that hung over them. No resistance was attempted. Men and women, churchmen and laymen, persons of all ranks and professions, were hurried from their homes and lodged in the secret chambers of the Inquisition. Yet these could not furnish accommodations for the number, and many were removed to the ordinary prisons, and even to convents and private dwellings. In Seville

alone eight hundred were arrested on the first day. Fears were entertained of an attempt at rescue, and an additional guard was stationed over the places of confinement. The inquisitors were in the condition of a fisherman whose cast has been so successful that the draught of fishes seems likely to prove too heavy for his net.[6]

The arrest of one party gradually led to the detection of others. Dragged from his solitary dungeon before the secret tribunal of the Inquisition, alone, without counsel to aid or one friendly face to cheer him, without knowing the name of his accuser, without being allowed to confront the witnesses who were there to swear away his life, without even a sight of his own process, except such garbled extracts as the wily judges thought fit to communicate, is it strange that the unhappy victim, in his perplexity and distress, should have been drawn into disclosures fatal to his associates and himself? If these disclosures were not to the mind of his judges, they had only to try the efficacy of the torture,—the rack, the cord, and the pulley,—until, when every joint had been wrenched from its socket, the barbarous tribunal was compelled to suspend, not terminate, the application, from the inability of the sufferer to endure it. Such were the dismal scenes enacted in the name of religion, as well as of the Inquisition,—scenes to which few of those who had once witnessed them, and escaped with life, dared ever to allude.

[6] McCrie, History of the Reformation in Spain (Edinburgh, 1829), p. 243.—Relacion del Auto que se hiço en Valladolid el dia de la Sanctissima Trinidad, Año de 1559, MS.

For to reveal the secrets of the Inquisition was death.[7]

At the expiration of eighteen months from the period of the first arrests, many of the trials had been concluded, the doom of the prisoners was sealed, and it was thought time that the prisons should disgorge their superfluous inmates. Valladolid was selected as the theatre of the first *auto de fé*, both from the importance of the capital and the presence of the court, which would thus sanction and give greater dignity to the celebration. This event took place in May, 1559. The Regent Joanna, the young prince of Asturias, Don Carlos, and the principal grandees of the court, were there to witness the spectacle. By rendering the heir of the crown thus early familiar with the tender mercies of the Holy Office, it may have been intended to conciliate his favor to that institution. If such was the object, according to the report it signally failed, since the woeful spectacle left no other impressions on the mind of the prince than those of indignation and disgust.

The example of Valladolid was soon followed by *autos de fé* in Granada, Toledo, Seville, Barcelona,—in short, in the twelve capitals in which tribunals of the Holy Office were established. A second celebration at Valladolid was reserved for the eighth of October in the same year, when it would be graced by the presence of the sovereign himself. Indeed, as several of the processes had

[7] The reader curious in the matter will find a more particular account of the origin and organization of the modern Inquisition in the "History of Ferdinand and Isabella," part i. cap. 9.

been concluded some months before this period, there is reason to believe that the sacrifice of more than one of the victims had been postponed in order to give greater effect to the spectacle.[8]

The *auto de fé*—" act of faith "—was the most imposing, as it was the most awful, of the solemnities authorized by the Roman Catholic Church. It was intended, somewhat profanely, as has been intimated, to combine the pomp of the Roman triumph with the terrors of the day of judgment.[9] It may remind one quite as much of those bloody festivals prepared for the entertainment of the Cæsars in the Coliseum. The religious import of the *auto de fé* was intimated by the circumstance of its being celebrated on a Sunday, or some other holiday of the Church. An indulgence for forty days was granted by his holiness to all who should be present at the spectacle; as if the appetite for witnessing the scenes of human suffering required to be stimulated by a bounty,—that, too, in Spain, where the amusements were, and still are, of the most sanguinary character.

The scene for this second *auto de fé* at Valladolid was the great square in front of the church of St. Francis. At one end a platform was raised, covered with rich carpeting, on which were ranged the seats of the inquisitors, emblazoned with the arms of the Holy Office. Near to this was the

[8] See the Register of such as were burned at Seville and Valladolid, in 1559, ap. Montanus, Discovery of sundry subtill Practises of the Inquisition.—Relacion del Auto que se hiço en Valladolid el dia de la Sanctissima Trinidad, 1559, MS.—Sepulveda, Opera, tom. iii. p. 58.

[9] McCrie, Reformation in Spain, p. 274.

royal gallery, a private entrance to which secured the inmates from molestation by the crowd. Opposite to this gallery a large scaffold was erected, so as to be visible from all parts of the arena, and was appropriated to the unhappy martyrs who were to suffer in the *auto*.

At six in the morning all the bells in the capital began to toll, and a solemn procession was seen to move from the dismal fortress of the Inquisition. In the van marched a body of troops, to secure a free passage for the procession. Then came the condemned, each attended by two familiars of the Holy Office, and those who were to suffer at the stake by two friars, in addition, exhorting the heretic to abjure his errors. Those admitted to penitence wore a sable dress; while the unfortunate martyr was enveloped in a loose sack of yellow cloth,—the *san benito*,—with his head surmounted by a cap of pasteboard of a conical form, which, together with the cloak, was embroidered with figures of flames and of devils fanning and feeding them; all emblematical of the destiny of the heretic's soul in the world to come, as well as of his body in the present. Then came the magistrates of the city, the judges of the courts, the ecclesiastical orders, and the nobles of the land, on horseback. These were followed by the members of the dread tribunal, and the fiscal, bearing a standard of crimson damask, on one side of which were displayed the arms of the Inquisition, and on the other the insignia of its founders, Sixtus the Fifth and Ferdinand the Catholic. Next came a numerous train of familiars, well mounted,

among whom were many of the gentry of the province, proud to act as the body-guard of the Holy Office. The rear was brought up by an immense concourse of the common people, stimulated on the present occasion, no doubt by the loyal desire to see their new sovereign, as well as by the ambition to share in the triumphs of the *auto de fé*. The number thus drawn together from the capital and the country, far exceeding what was usual on such occasions, is estimated by one present at full two hundred thousand.[10]

As the multitude defiled into the square, the inquisitors took their place on the seats prepared for their reception. The condemned were conducted to the scaffold, and the royal station was occupied by Philip, with the different members of his household. At his side sat his sister, the late regent, his son, Don Carlos, his nephew, Alexander Farnese, several foreign ambassadors, and the principal grandees and higher ecclesiastics in attendance on the court. It was an august assembly of the greatest and proudest in the land. But the most indifferent spectator, who had a spark of humanity in his bosom, might have turned with feelings of admiration from this array of worldly power, to the poor martyr, who, with no support but what he drew from within, was prepared to defy this power and to lay down his life in vindication of the rights of conscience. Some there may have been, in that large concourse, who shared in these sentiments. But their number was small indeed in comparison

[10] De Castro, Historia de los Protestantes Españoles (Cadiz, 1851), p. 177.

with those who looked on the wretched victim as the enemy of God, and his approaching sacrifice as the most glorious triumph of the Cross.

The ceremonies began with a sermon, " the sermon of the faith," by the bishop of Zamora. The subject of it may well be guessed, from the occasion. It was no doubt plentifully larded with texts of Scripture, and, unless the preacher departed from the fashion of the time, with passages from the heathen writers, however much out of place they may seem in an orthodox discourse.

When the bishop had concluded, the grand inquisitor administered an oath to the assembled multitude, who on their knees solemnly swore to defend the Inquisition, to maintain the purity of the faith, and to inform against any one who should swerve from it. As Philip repeated an oath of similar import, he suited the action to the word, and, rising from his seat, drew his sword from its scabbard, as if to announce himself the determined champion of the Holy Office. In the earlier *autos* of the Moorish and Jewish infidels, so humiliating an oath had never been exacted from the sovereign.

After this, the secretary of the tribunal read aloud an instrument reciting the grounds for the conviction of the prisoners, and the respective sentences pronounced against them. Those who were to be admitted to penitence, each, as his sentence was proclaimed, knelt down, and, with his hands on the missal, solemnly abjured his errors, and was absolved by the grand inquisitor. The absolution, however, was not so entire as to relieve the

offender from the penalty of his transgressions in this world. Some were doomed to perpetual imprisonment in the cells of the Inquisition, others to lighter penances. All were doomed to the confiscation of their property,—a point of too great moment to the welfare of the tribunal ever to be omitted. Besides this, in many cases the offender, and, by a glaring perversion of justice, his immediate descendants, were rendered forever ineligible to public office of any kind, and their names branded with perpetual infamy. Thus blighted in fortune and in character, they were said, in the soft language of the Inquisition, to be *reconciled.*

As these unfortunate persons were remanded, under a strong guard, to their prisons, all eyes were turned on the little company of martyrs, who, clothed in the ignominious garb of the *san benito,* stood awaiting the sentence of their judges, with cords round their necks, and in their hands a cross, or sometimes an inverted torch, typical of their own speedy dissolution. The interest of the spectators was still further excited, in the present instance, by the fact that several of these victims were not only illustrious for their rank, but yet more so for their talents and virtues. In their haggard looks, their emaciated forms, and too often, alas! their distorted limbs, it was easy to read the story of their sufferings in their long imprisonment, for some of them had been confined in the dark cells of the Inquisition much more than a year. Yet their countenances, though haggard, far from showing any sign of weakness or fear, were lighted up with the glow of holy enthusiasm,

as of men prepared to seal their testimony with their blood.

When that part of the process showing the grounds of their conviction had been read, the grand inquisitor consigned them to the hands of the corregidor of the city, beseeching him to deal with the prisoners *in all kindness and mercy;*[11] a honeyed but most hypocritical phrase, since no choice was left to the civil magistrate but to execute the terrible sentence of the law against heretics, the preparations for which had been made by him a week before.[12]

The whole number of convicts amounted to thirty, of whom sixteen were *reconciled,* and the remainder *relaxed* to the secular arm,—in other words, turned over to the civil magistrate for execution. There were few of those thus condemned who, when brought to the stake, did not so far shrink from the dreadful doom that awaited them as to consent to purchase a commutation of it by confession before they died; in which case they were strangled by the *garrote* before their bodies were thrown into the flames.*

Of the present number there were only two whose constancy triumphed to the last over the dread of suffering, and who refused to purchase

[11] "Nous recommandons de le traiter avec bonté et miséricorde." Llorente, Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 253.

[12] Colmenares, Historia de Segovia, cap. xlii. sec. 3.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 3.

* [The Inquisition was, according to the biographer of Philip the Second, "a heavenly remedy, a guardian angel of Paradise, a lion's den in which Daniel and other just men could sustain no injury, but in which perverse sinners were torn in pieces." Cabrera, v. p. 236.—M.]

any mitigation of it by a compromise with conscience. The names of these martyrs should be engraven on the record of history.

One of them was Don Carlos de Seso, a noble Florentine, who had stood high in the favor of Charles the Fifth. Being united with a lady of rank in Castile, he removed to that country and took up his residence in Valladolid. He had become a convert to the Lutheran doctrines, which he first communicated to his own family, and afterwards showed equal zeal in propagating among the people of Valladolid and its neighborhood. In short, there was no man to whose untiring and intrepid labors the cause of the Reformed religion in Spain was more indebted. He was, of course, a conspicuous mark for the Inquisition.

During the fifteen months in which he lay in its gloomy cells, cut off from human sympathy and support, his constancy remained unshaken. The night preceding his execution, when his sentence had been announced to him, De Seso called for writing-materials. It was thought he designed to propitiate his judges by a full confession of his errors. But the confession he made was of another kind. He insisted on the errors of the Romish Church, and avowed his unshaken trust in the great truths of the Reformation. The document, covering two sheets of paper, is pronounced by the secretary of the Inquisition to be a composition equally remarkable for its energy and precision.[13] When led before the royal gallery, on his way to the place of execution, De Seso patheti-

[13] Llorente, Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 236.

cally exclaimed to Philip, "Is it thus that you allow innocent subjects to be persecuted?" To which the king made the memorable reply, "If it were my own son, I would fetch the wood to burn him, were he such a wretch as thou art!" It was certainly a characteristic answer.[14]

At the stake De Seso showed the same unshaken constancy, bearing his testimony to the truth of the great cause for which he gave up his life. As the flames crept slowly around him, he called on the soldiers to heap up the fagots, that his agonies might be sooner ended; and his executioners, indignant at the obstinacy—the heroism—of the martyr, were not slow in obeying his commands.[15]

The companion and fellow-sufferer of De Seso was Domingo de Roxas, son of the marquis de Poza, an unhappy noble, who had seen five of his family, including his eldest son, condemned to various humiliating penances by the Inquisition for their heretical opinions. This one was now to suffer death. De Roxas was a Dominican monk. It is singular that this order, from which the min-

[14] The anecdote is well attested. (Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 3.) Father Agustin Dávila notices what he styles this *sentencia famosa* in his funeral discourse on Philip, delivered at Valladolid soon after that monarch's death. (Sermones funerales, en las Honras del Rey Don Felipe II., fol. 77.) Colmenares still more emphatically eulogizes the words thus uttered in the cause of the true faith, as worthy of such a prince: "El primer sentenciado al fuego en este Auto fué Don Carlos de Seso de sangre noble, que osó dezir al Rey, como consentia que le quemasen, y severo respondio, Yo trahere la leña para quemar á mi hijo, si fuere tan malo como vos. Accion y palabras dignas de tal Rey en causa de la suprema religion." Historia de Segovia, cap. xlii. sec. 3.

[15] Llorente, Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 237.

isters of the Holy Office were particularly taken, furnished many proselytes to the Reformed religion. De Roxas, as was the usage with ecclesiastics, was allowed to retain his sacerdotal habit until his sentence had been read, when he was degraded from his ecclesiastical rank, his vestments were stripped off one after another, and the hideous dress of the *san benito* thrown over him, amid the shouts and derision of the populace. Thus apparelled, he made an attempt to address the spectators around the scaffold; but no sooner did he begin to raise his voice against the errors and cruelties of Rome than Philip indignantly commanded him to be gagged. The gag was a piece of cleft wood, which, forcibly compressing the tongue, had the additional advantage of causing great pain while it silenced the offender. Even when he was bound to the stake, the gag, though contrary to custom, was suffered to remain in the mouth of De Roxas, as if his enemies dreaded the effects of an eloquence that triumphed over the anguish of death.[16]

The place of execution—the *quemadero*, the burning-place, as it was called—was a spot selected for the purpose without the walls of the city.[17] Those who attended an *auto de fé* were not, therefore, necessarily, as is commonly imagined, spectators of the tragic scene that concluded it. The great body of the people, and many of higher

[16] Montanus, Discovery of sundry subtill Practises of the Inquisition, p. 52.—Llorente, Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 239.—Sepulveda, Opera, tom. iii. p. 58.

[17] Puigblanch, The Inquisition Unmasked (London, 1816), vol. i. p. 336.

rank, no doubt, followed to the place of execution. On this occasion there is reason to think, from the language—somewhat equivocal, it is true—of Philip's biographer, that the monarch chose to testify his devotion to the Inquisition by witnessing in person the appalling close of the drama; while his guards mingled with the menials of the Holy Office and heaped up the fagots round their victims.[18]

Such was the cruel exhibition which, under the garb of a religious festival, was thought the most fitting ceremonial for welcoming the Catholic monarch to his dominions! During the whole time of its duration in the public square, from six in the morning till two in the afternoon, no symptom of impatience was exhibited by the spectators, and, as may well be believed, no sign of sympathy for the sufferers.[19] It would be difficult to devise a

[18] "Hallóse por esto presente a ver llevar i entregar al fuego muchos delinquentes aconpañados de sus guardas de a pie i de a cavallo, que ayudaron a la execucion." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 3.—It may be doubted whether the historian means anything more than that Philip saw the unfortunate man led to execution, at which his own guards assisted. Dávila, the friar who, as I have noticed, pronounced a funeral oration on the king, speaks of him simply as having assisted at this act of faith,—"assistir a los actos de Fe, como se vio en esta Ciudad." (Sermones funerales, fol. 77.) Could the worthy father have ventured to give Philip credit for being present at the death, he would not have failed to do so. Leti, less scrupulous, tells us that Philip saw the execution from the windows of his palace, heard the cries of the dying martyrs, and enjoyed the spectacle! The picture he gives of the scene loses nothing for want of coloring. Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 342.

[19] How little sympathy, may be inferred from the savage satisfaction with which a wise and temperate historian of the time dismisses to everlasting punishment one of the martyrs of the first *auto* at Valladolid: "Jureque vivus flammis corpore cruciatus miserrimam animam efflavit ad supplicia sempiterna." Sepulveda, Opera, tom. iii. p. 58.

better school for perverting the moral sense and deadening the sensibilities of a nation.[20]

Under the royal sanction, the work of persecution now went forward more briskly than ever.[21] No calling was too sacred, no rank too high, to escape the shafts of the informer. In the course of a few years, no less than nine bishops were compelled to do humiliating penance in some form or other for heterodox opinions. But the most illustrious victim of the Inquisition was Bartolomé Carranza, archbishop of Toledo. The primacy of

[20] Balmes, one of the most successful champions of the Romish faith in our time, finds in the terrible apathy thus shown to the sufferings of the martyrs a proof of a more vital religious sentiment than exists at the present day: "We feel our hair grow stiff on our heads at the mere idea of burning a man alive. Placed in society where the religious sentiment is considerably diminished, accustomed to live among men who have a different religion, and sometimes none at all, we cannot bring ourselves to believe that it could be, at that time, quite an ordinary thing to see heretics or the impious led to punishment." Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe, Eng. trans. (Baltimore, 1851), p. 217.—According to this view of the matter, the more religion there is among men, the harder will be their hearts.

[21] The zeal of the king and the Inquisition together in the work of persecution had wellnigh got the nation into more than one difficulty with foreign countries. Mann, the English minister, was obliged to remonstrate against the manner in which the independence of his own household was violated by the agents of the Holy Office. The complaints of St.-Sulpice, the French ambassador, notwithstanding the gravity of the subject, are told in a vein of caustic humor that may provoke a smile in the reader: "I have complained to the king of the manner in which the Marseillese, and other Frenchmen, are maltreated by the Inquisition. He excused himself by saying that he had little power or authority in matters which depended on that body; he could do nothing further than recommend the grand inquisitor to cause good and speedy justice to be done to the parties. The grand inquisitor promised that they should be treated no worse than born Castilians, and the 'good and speedy justice' came to this, that they were burnt alive in the king's presence." Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 111.

Spain might be considered as the post of the highest consideration in the Roman Catholic Church after the papacy.[22] The proceedings against this prelate, on the whole, excited more interest throughout Christendom than any other case that came before the tribunal of the Inquisition.

Carranza, who was of an ancient Castilian family, had early entered a Dominican convent in the suburbs of Guadalajara. His exemplary life, and his great parts and learning, recommended him to the favor of Charles the Fifth, who appointed him confessor to his son Philip. The emperor also sent him to the Council of Trent, where he made a great impression by his eloquence, as well as by a tract which he published against plurality of benefices, which, however, excited no little disgust in many of his order. On Philip's visit to England to marry Queen Mary, Carranza accompanied his master, and while in that country he distinguished himself by the zeal and ability with which he controverted the doctrines of the Protestants. The alacrity, morever, which he manifested in the work of persecution made him generally odious under the name of the "black friar,"—a name peculiarly appropriate, as it applied not less to his swarthy complexion than to the garb of his order.

[22] The archbishop of Toledo, according to Lucio Marineo Siculo, who wrote a few years before this period, had jurisdiction over more than fifteen large towns, besides smaller places, which of course made the number of his vassals enormous. His revenues, also, amounting to eighty thousand ducats, exceeded those of any grandee in the kingdom. The yearly revenues of the subordinate beneficiaries of his church were together not less than a hundred and eighty thousand ducats. Cosas memorables de España (Alcalá de Henares, 1539), fol. 13.

On Philip's return to Flanders, Carranza, who had twice refused a mitre, was raised—not without strong disinclination on his own part—to the archiepiscopal see of Toledo. The "*nolo episcopari*," in this instance, seems to have been sincere. It would have been well for him if it had been effectual. Carranza's elevation to the primacy was the source of all his troubles.

The hatred of theologians has passed into a proverb; and there would certainly seem to be no rancor surpassing that of a Spanish ecclesiastic. Among the enemies raised by Carranza's success, the most implacable was the grand inquisitor, Valdés. The archbishop of Seville could ill brook that a humble Dominican should be thus raised from the cloister over the heads of the proud prelacy of Spain. With unwearied pains, such as hate only could induce, he sought out whatever could make against the orthodoxy of the new prelate, whether in his writings or his conversation. Some plausible ground was afforded for this from the fact that, although Carranza, as his whole life had shown, was devoted to the Roman Catholic Church, yet his long residence in Protestant countries, and his familiarity with Protestant works, had given a coloring to his language, if not to his opinions, which resembled that of the Reformers. Indeed, Carranza seems to have been much of the same way of thinking with Pole, Contarini, Morone, and other illustrious Romanists, whose liberal natures and wide range of study had led them to sanction more than one of the Lutheran dogmas which were subsequently proscribed by the Council

of Trent. One charge strongly urged against the primate was his assent to the heretical doctrine of justification by faith.* In support of this, Father Regla, the confessor, as the reader may remember, of Charles the Fifth, and a worthy coadjutor of Valdés, quoted words of consolation employed by Carranza, in his presence, at the death-bed of the emperor.[23]

The exalted rank of the accused made it necessary for his enemies to proceed with the greatest caution. Never had the bloodhounds of the Inquisition been set on so noble a quarry. Confident in his own authority, the prelate had little reason for distrust. He could not ward off the blow, for it was an invisible arm stronger than his own that was raised to smite him. On the twenty-second of August, 1559, the emissaries of the Holy Office entered the primate's town of Torrelaguna. The doors of the episcopal palace were thrown open to the ministers of the terrible tribunal. The prelate was dragged from his bed at midnight, was hurried into a coach, and, while the inhabitants were ordered not so much as to present themselves at the windows, he was conducted, under a strong guard, to the prisons of the Inquisition at Valladolid. The arrest of such a person caused a great sensation throughout the country, but no attempt was made at a rescue.

The primate would have appealed from the

[23] Salazar, Vida de Carranza (Madrid, 1788), cap. 1–11.—Documentos inéditos, tom. v. p. 389, et seq.—Llorente, Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. ii. p. 163, tom. iii. p. 183, et seq.

* [The keynote of Luther's doctrine.—M.]

Holy Office to the pope, as the only power competent to judge him. But he was unwilling to give umbrage to Philip, who had told him in any extremity to rely on him. The king, however, was still in the Netherlands, where his mind had been preoccupied, through the archbishop's enemies, with rumors of his defection. And the mere imputation of heresy, in this dangerous crisis, and especially in one whom he had so recently raised to the highest post in the Spanish church, was enough not only to efface the recollection of past services from the mind of Philip, but to turn his favor into aversion. For two years Carranza was suffered to languish in confinement, exposed to all the annoyances which the malice of his enemies could devise. So completely was he dead to the world that he knew nothing of a conflagration which consumed more than four hundred of the principal houses in Valladolid, till some years after the occurrence.[24]

At length the Council of Trent, sharing the indignation of the rest of Christendom at the archbishop's protracted imprisonment, called on Philip to interpose in his behalf and to remove the cause to another tribunal. But the king gave little heed to the remonstrance, which the inquisitors treated as a presumptuous interference with their authority.

In 1566, Pius the Fifth ascended the pontifical throne. He was a man of austere morals and a

[24] "En que se quemaron mas de 400 casas principales, y ricas, y algunas en aquel barrio donde él estaba; no solo no lo entendió el Arzobispo, pero ni lo supo hasta muchos años despues de estar en Roma." Salazar, Vida de Carranza, cap. 15.

most inflexible will. A Dominican, like Carranza, he was greatly scandalized by the treatment which the primate had received, and by the shameful length to which his process had been protracted. He at once sent his orders to Spain for the removal of the grand inquisitor, Valdés, from office, summoning, at the same time, the cause and the prisoner before his own tribunal. The bold inquisitor, loath to lose his prey, would have defied the power of Rome, as he had done that of the Council of Trent. Philip remonstrated; but Pius was firm, and menaced both king and inquisitor with excommunication. Philip had no mind for a second collision with the papal court. In imagination he already heard the thunders of the Vatican rolling in the distance and threatening soon to break upon his head. After a confinement of now more than seven years' duration, the archbishop was sent under a guard to Rome. He was kindly received by the pontiff, and honorably lodged in the castle of St. Angelo, in apartments formerly occupied by the popes themselves. But he was still a prisoner.

Pius now set seriously about the examination of Carranza's process. It was a tedious business, requiring his holiness to wade through an ocean of papers, while the progress of the suit was perpetually impeded by embarrassments thrown in his way by the industrious malice of the inquisitors. At the end of six years more, Pius was preparing to give his judgment, which it was understood would be favorable to Carranza, when, unhappily for the primate, the pontiff died.

The Holy Office, stung by the prospect of its failure, now strained every nerve to influence the mind of the new pope, Gregory the Thirteenth, to a contrary decision. New testimony was collected, new glosses were put on the primate's text, and the sanction of the most learned Spanish theologians was brought in support of them. At length, at the end of three years further, the holy father announced his purpose of giving his final decision. It was done with great circumstance. The pope was seated on his pontifical throne, surrounded by all his cardinals, prelates, and functionaries of the apostolic chamber. Before this august assembly the archbishop presented himself unsupported and alone, while no one ventured to salute him. His head was bare. His once robust form was bent by infirmity more than by years; and his care-worn features told of that sickness which arises from hope deferred. He knelt down at some distance from the pope, and in this humble attitude received his sentence.

He was declared to have imbibed the pernicious doctrines of Luther. The decree of the Inquisition prohibiting the use of his catechism was confirmed. He was to abjure sixteen propositions found in his writings; was suspended from the exercise of his episcopal functions for five years, during which time he was to be confined in a convent of his order at Orvieto; and, finally, he was required to visit seven of the principal churches in Rome and perform mass there by way of penance.

This was the end of eighteen years of doubt,

anxiety, and imprisonment. The tears streamed down the face of the unhappy man, as he listened to the sentence; but he bowed in silent submission to the will of his superior. The very next day he began his work of penance. But nature could go no further; and on the second of May, only sixteen days after his sentence had been pronounced, Carranza died of a broken heart. The triumph of the Inquisition was complete.

The pope raised a monument to the memory of the primate, with a pompous inscription, paying a just tribute to his talents and his scholarship, endowing him with a full measure of Christian worth, and particularly commending the exemplary manner in which he had discharged the high trusts reposed in him by his sovereign.[25]

Such is the story of Carranza's persecution,—considering the rank of the party, the unprecedented length of the process, and the sensation it excited throughout Europe, altogether the most remarkable on the records of the Inquisition.[26]

[25] Salazar, Vida de Carranza, cap. 12–35.—Documentos inéditos, tom. v. pp. 453–463.—Llorente, Inquisition d'Espagne, tom. iii. p. 218, et seq.

[26] The persecution of Carranza has occupied the pens of several Castilian writers. The most ample biographical notice of him is by the Doctor Salazar de Miranda, who derived his careful and trustworthy narrative from the best original sources. Llorente had the advantage of access to the voluminous records of the Holy Office, of which he was the secretary; and in his third volume he has devoted a large space to the process of Carranza, which, with the whole mass of legal documents growing out of the protracted prosecution, amounted, as he assures us, to no less than twenty-six thousand leaves of manuscript. This enormous mass of testimony leads one to suspect that the object of the Inquisition was not so much to detect the truth as to cover it up. The learned editors of the "Documentos inéditos" have profited by both these works, as well as by some unpublished manuscripts of that day, relating to the

Our sympathy for the archbishop's sufferings may be reasonably mitigated by the reflection that he did but receive the measure which he had meted out to others.*

While the prosecution of Carranza was going on, the fires lighted for the Protestants continued to burn with fury in all parts of the country, until at length they gradually slackened and died away, from mere want of fuel to feed them. The year 1570 may be regarded as the period of the last *auto de fé* in which the Lutherans played a conspicuous part. The subsequent celebrations were devoted chiefly to relapsed Jews and Mahometans; and if a Protestant heretic was sometimes added to this list, it was "but as the gleaning of grapes after the vintage is done." [27]

Never was there a persecution which did its work more thoroughly. The blood of the martyr is commonly said to be the seed of the church. But the storm of persecution fell as heavily on

affair, to exhibit it fully and fairly to the Castilian reader, who in this brief history may learn the value of the institutions under which his fathers lived.

[27] So says McCrie, whose volume on the Reformation in Spain presents in a reasonable compass a very accurate view of that interesting movement. The historian does not appear to have had access to any rare or recondite materials; but he has profited well by those at his command, comprehending the best published works, and has digested them into a narrative distinguished for its temperance and truth.

* [There is, however, this distinction to be made: the Protestants were condemned for holding opinions which they professed and gloried in; while Carranza was accused of promulgating doctrines which he disavowed and repudiated. The papal sentence ordered only that he should abjure certain propositions which he was "suspected" of holding. The persecution he underwent was the work, not of fanaticism, but of personal enmity and intrigue.—K.]

the Spanish Protestants as it did on the Albigenses in the thirteenth century, blighting every living thing, so that no germ remained for future harvests. Spain might now boast that the stain of heresy no longer defiled the hem of her garment. But at what a price was this purchased! Not merely by the sacrifice of the lives and fortunes of a few thousands of the existing generation, but by the disastrous consequences entailed forever on the country. Folded under the dark wing of the Inquisition, Spain was shut out from the light which in the sixteenth century broke over the rest of Europe, stimulating the nations to greater enterprise in every department of knowledge. The genius of the people was rebuked, and their spirit quenched, under the malignant influence of an eye that never slumbered, of an unseen arm ever raised to strike. How could there be freedom of thought, where there was no freedom of utterance? Or freedom of utterance, where it was as dangerous to say too little as too much? Freedom cannot go along with fear. Every way the mind of the Spaniard was in fetters.

His moral sense was miserably perverted. Men were judged, not by their practice, but by their professions. Creed became a substitute for conduct. Difference of faith made a wider gulf of separation than difference of race, language, or even interest. Spain no longer formed one of the great brotherhood of Christian nations. An immeasurable barrier was raised between that kingdom and the Protestant states of Europe. The early condition of perpetual warfare with the

Arabs who overran the country had led the Spaniards to mingle religion strangely with their politics. The effect continued when the cause had ceased. Their wars with the European nations became religious wars. In fighting England or the Netherlands, they were fighting the enemies of God. It was the same everywhere. In their contest with the unoffending natives of the New World they were still battling with the enemies of God. Their wars took the character of a perpetual crusade, and were conducted with all the ferocity which fanaticism could inspire.

The same dark spirit of fanaticism seems to brood over the national literature, — even that lighter literature which in other nations is made up of the festive sallies of wit or the tender expression of sentiment. The greatest geniuses of the nation, the masters of the drama and of the ode, while they astonish us by their miracles of invention, show that they have too often kindled their inspiration at the altars of the Inquisition.

Debarred as he was from freedom of speculation, the domain of science was closed against the Spaniard. Science looks to perpetual change. It turns to the past to gather warning, as well as instruction, for the future. Its province is to remove old abuses, to explode old errors, to unfold new truths. Its condition, in short, is that of progress. But in Spain, everything not only looked to the past, but rested on the past. Old abuses gathered respect from their antiquity. Reform was innovation, and innovation was a crime. Far from progress, all was stationary. The hand

of the Inquisition drew the line which said, "No further!" This was the limit of human intelligence in Spain.

The effect was visible in every department of science,—not in the speculative alone, but in the physical and the practical; in the declamatory rant of its theology and ethics, in the childish and chimerical schemes of its political economists. In every walk were to be seen the symptoms of premature decrepitude, as the nation clung to the antiquated systems which the march of civilization in other countries had long since effaced. Hence those frantic experiments, so often repeated, in the financial administration of the kingdom, which made Spain the byword of the nations, and which ended in the ruin of trade, the prostration of credit, and finally the bankruptcy of the state. But we willingly turn from this sad picture of the destinies of the country to a more cheerful scene in the history of Philip.

CHAPTER IV

PHILIP'S THIRD MARRIAGE

Reception of Isabella—Marriage-Festivities—The Queen's Mode of Life—The Court removed to Madrid

1560

SO soon as Philip should be settled in Spain, it had been arranged that his young bride, Elizabeth of France, should cross the Pyrenees. Early in January, 1560, Elizabeth,—or Isabella, to use the corresponding name by which she was known to the Spaniards,—under the protection of the Cardinal de Bourbon and some of the French nobility, reached the borders of Navarre, where she was met by the duke of Infantado, who was to take charge of the princess and escort her to Castile.

Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, fourth duke of Infantado, was the head of the most illustrious house in Castile. He was at this time near seventy years of age, having passed most of his life in attendance at court, where he had always occupied the position suited to his high birth and his extensive property, which, as his title intimated, lay chiefly in the north. He was a fine specimen of the old Castilian hidalgo, and displayed a magnificence in his way of living that became his station. He was well educated, for the time; and his fondness for books did not prevent his excelling in all

knightly exercises. He was said to have the best library and the best stud of any gentleman in Castile.[1]

He appeared on this occasion in great state, accompanied by his household and his kinsmen, the heads of the noblest families in Spain. The duke was attended by some fifty pages, who, in their rich dresses of satin and brocade, displayed the gay colors of the house of Mendoza. The nobles in his train, all suitably mounted, were followed by twenty-five hundred gentlemen, well equipped, like themselves. So lavish were the Castilians of that day in the caparisons of their horses that some of these are estimated, without taking into account the jewels with which they were garnished, to have cost no less than two thousand ducats![2] The same taste is visible at this day in their descendants, especially in South America and in Mexico, where the love of barbaric ornament in the housings and caparisons of their steeds is conspicuous among all classes of the people.

Several days were spent in settling the etiquette to be observed before the presentation of the duke and his followers to the princess,—a perilous matter with the Spanish hidalgo. When at length the interview took place, the cardinal of Burgos, the

[1] A full account of this duke of Infantado is to be found in the extremely rare work of Nuñez de Castro, Historia ecclesiastica y seglar de Guadalajara (Madrid, 1653), p. 180, et seq. Oviedo, in his curious volumes on the Castilian aristocracy, which he brings down to 1556, speaks of the dukes of Infantado as having a body-guard of two hundred men, and of being able to muster a force of thirty thousand! Quincuagenas, MS.

[2] "Avia gualdrapas de dos mil ducados de costa sin conputar valor de piedras." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 7.

duke's brother, opened it by a formal and rather long address to Isabella, who replied in a tone of easy gayety, which, though not undignified, savored much more of the manners of her own country than those of Spain.[3] The place of meeting was at Roncesvalles,—a name which to the reader of romance may call up scenes very different from those presented by the two nations now met together in kindly courtesy.[4]

From Roncesvalles the princess proceeded, under the strong escort of the duke, to his town of Guadalajara in New Castile, where her marriage with King Philip was to be solemnized. Great preparations were made by the loyal citizens for celebrating the event in a manner honorable to their own master and their future queen. A huge mound, or what might be called a hill, was raised at the entrance of the town, where a grove of natural oaks had been transplanted, among which was to be seen abundance of game. Isabella was received by the magistrates of the place, and escorted through the principal streets by a brilliant cavalcade, composed of the great nobility of the court. She was dressed in ermine, and rode a milk-white palfrey, which she managed with an easy grace that delighted the multitude. On one side of her

[3] "Elle répondit d'un air riant, et avec des termes pleins tout ensemble de douceur et de majesté." De Thou, tom. iii. p. 426.

[4] We have a minute account of this interview from the pens of two of Isabella's train, who accompanied her to Castile, and whose letters to the cardinal of Lorraine are to be found in the valuable collection of historical documents the publication of which was begun under the auspices of Louis Philippe. Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France, Négociations, etc. relatives au Règne de François II., p. 171, et seq.

rode the duke of Infantado, and on the other the cardinal of Burgos. After performing her devotions at the church, where *Te Deum* was chanted, she proceeded to the ducal palace, in which the marriage ceremony was to be performed. On her entering the court, the Princess Joanna came down to receive her sister-in-law, and, after an affectionate salutation, conducted her to the saloon, where Philip, attended by his son, was awaiting his bride.[5]

It was the first time that Isabella had seen her destined lord. She now gazed on him so intently that he good-humoredly asked her "if she were looking to see if he had any gray hairs in his head." The bluntness of the question somewhat disconcerted her.[6] Philip's age was not much less than that at which the first gray hairs made their appearance on his father's temples. Yet the discrepancy between the ages of the parties in the present instance was not greater than often happens in a royal union. Isabella was in her fifteenth year,[7] and Philip in his thirty-fourth.

[5] Lucio Marineo, in his curious farrago of notable matters, speaks of the sumptuous residence of the dukes of Infantado in Guadalajara: "Los muy magnificos y sumpticosos palacios que alli estan de los muy illustres duques de la casa muy antigua de los Mendoças." Cosas memorables, fol. 13.

[6] "J'ay ouy conter à une de ses dames que la premiere fois qu'elle vist son mary, elle se mit à le contempler si fixement, que le Roy, ne le trouvant pas bon, luy demanda: *Que mirais, si tengo canas?* c'est-à-dire, 'Que regardez-vous, si j'ai les cheveux blancs?' Ces mots luy toucherent si fort au cœur que depuis on augura mal pour elle." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 131.

[7] In this statement I conform to Sismondi's account. In the present instance, however, there is even more uncertainty than is usual in regard to a lady's age. According to Cabrera, Isabella was eighteen at the time of her marriage; while De Thou makes her only

ELIZABETH OF FRANCE, QUEEN OF SPAIN

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From all accounts, the lady's youth was her least recommendation. "Elizabeth de Valois," says Brantôme, who knew her well, "was a true daughter of France,—discreet, witty, beautiful, and good, if ever woman was so." [8] She was well made, and tall of stature, and on this account the more admired in Spain, where the women are rarely above the middle height. Her eyes were dark, and her luxuriant tresses, of the same dark color, shaded features that were delicately fair.[9] There was sweetness mingled with dignity in her deportment, in which Castilian stateliness seemed to be happily tempered by the vivacity of her own nation. "So attractive was she," continues the gallant old courtier, "that no cavalier durst look on her long, for fear of losing his heart, which in that jealous court might have proved the loss of his life." [10]

Some of the chroniclers notice a shade of melancholy as visible on Isabella's features, which they refer to the comparison the young bride was naturally led to make between her own lord and his son, the prince of Asturias, for whom her hand

eleven when the terms of the alliance were arranged by the commissioners at Cateau-Cambresis. These are the extremes, but within them there is no agreement among the authorities I have consulted.

[8] "Elizabeth de France, et vraye fille de France, en tout belle, sage, vertueuse, spirituelle et bonne, s'il en fust oncques." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 126.

[9] "Son visage estoit beau, et ses cheveux et yeux noirs, qui adombroient son teint. . . . Sa taille estoit tres belle, et plus grande que toutes ses sœurs, qui la rendoit fort admirable en Espagne, d'autant que les tailles hautes y sont rares, et pour ce fort estimables." Ibid., p. 128.

[10] "Les seigneurs ne l'osoient regarder de peur d'en estre espris, et en causer jalousie au roy son mary, et par consequent eux courir fortune de la vie." Ibid., p. 128.

had been originally intended.[11] But the daughter of Catherine de Medicis, they are careful to add, had been too well trained, from her cradle, not to know how to disguise her feelings. Don Carlos had one advantage over his father, in his youth; though in this respect, since he was but a boy of fourteen, he might be thought to fall as much too short of the suitable age as the king exceeded it. It is also intimated by the same gossiping writers that from this hour of their meeting, touched by the charms of his step-mother, the prince nourished a secret feeling of resentment against his father, who had thus come between him and his beautiful betrothed.[12] It is this light gossip of the chroniclers that has furnished the romancers of later ages with the flimsy materials for that web of fiction which displays in such glowing colors the loves of Carlos and Isabella. I shall have occasion to return to this subject when treating of the fate of this unhappy prince.

When the nuptials were concluded, the good people of Guadalajara testified their loyalty by all kinds of festivities in honor of the event,—by

[11] "La regina istessa parue non so come sorpressa da vn sentimento di malinconica passione, nel vedersi abbracciare da vn rè di 33 anni, di garbo ordinario alla presenza d' vn giouine prencipe molto ben fatto, e che prima dell' altro l' era stato promesso in sposo." Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 345.

[12] Brantôme, who was certainly one of those who believed in the jealousy of Philip, if not in the passion of Isabella, states the circumstance of the king's supplanting his son in a manner sufficiently *naïve:* "Mais le roy d'Espagne son pere, venant à estre veuf par le trespas de la reyne d'Angleterre sa femme et sa cousine germaine, ayant veu le pourtraict de madame Elizabeth, et la trouvant fort belle et fort à son gré, en coupa l'herbe soubs le pied à son fils, et la prit pour luy, commençant cette charité à soy mesme." Œuvres, tom. v. p. 127.

fireworks, music, and dancing. The fountains flowed with generous liquor. Tables were spread in the public squares, laden with good cheer, and freely open to all. In the evening, the *regidores* of the town, to the number of fifty or more, presented themselves before the king and queen. They were dressed in their gaudy liveries of crimson and yellow velvet, and each of these functionaries bore a napkin on his arm, while he carried a plate of sweetmeats, which he presented to the royal pair and the ladies of the court. The following morning Philip and his consort left the hospitable walls of Guadalajara and set out with their whole suite for Toledo. At parting, the duke of Infantado made the queen and her ladies presents of jewels, lace, and other rich articles of dress; and the sovereigns took leave of their noble host, well pleased with the princely entertainment he had given them.[13]

At Toledo, preparations were made for the reception of Philip and Isabella in a style worthy of the renown of that ancient capital of the Visigoths. In the broad *vega* before the city, three thousand of the old Spanish infantry engaged in a mock encounter with a body of Moorish cavalry having their uniforms and caparisons fancifully trimmed and ornamented in the Arabesque fashion. Then followed various national dances by

[13] Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 6.—Florez, Reynas Catholicas, p. 897.—"A la despedida presentó el Duque del Ynfantado al Rey, Reyna, Damas, Dueñas de honor, y á las de la Cámara ricas joyas de oro y plata, telas, guantes, y otras preseas tan ricas, por la prolixidad del arte, como por lo precioso de la materia." De Castro, Hist. de Guadalajara, p. 116.

beautiful maidens of Toledo, dances of the Gypsies, and the old Spanish "war-dance of the swords." [14]

On entering the gates, the royal pair were welcomed by the municipality of the city, who supported a canopy of cloth of gold over the heads of the king and queen, emblazoned with their ciphers. A procession was formed, consisting of the principal magistrates, the members of the military orders, the officers of the Inquisition,—for Toledo was one of the principal stations of the secret tribunal,—and, lastly, the chief nobles of the court. In the cavalcade might be discerned the iron form of the duke of Alva, and his more courtly rival, Ruy Gomez de Silva, count of Melito,—the two nobles highest in the royal confidence. Triumphal arches, ornamented with quaint devices and emblematical figures from ancient mythology, were thrown across the streets, which were filled with shouting multitudes. Gay wreaths of flowers and flaunting streamers adorned the verandas and balconies, which were crowded with spectators of both sexes in their holiday attire, making a show of gaudy colors that reminds an old chronicler of the richly-tinted tapestries and carpetings of Flanders.[15] In this royal state the new-married pair moved along the streets towards the great cathe-

[14] "Dançcas de hermosisimas donzellas de la Sagra, i las de espadas antigua invencion de Españoles." Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. v. cap. 6.

[15] "Por la mucha hermosura que avia en las damas de la ciudad i Corte, el adorno de los miradores i calles, las libreas costosas i varias i muchas, que todo hazia un florido campo o lienço de Flandres." Ibid., ubi supra.

dral; and after paying their devotions at its venerable shrine they repaired to the *alcazar*,—the palace-fortress of Toledo.

For some weeks, during which the sovereigns remained in the capital, there was a general jubilee.[16] All the national games of Spain were exhibited to the young queen; the bull-fight, the Moorish sport of the *cañas*, or tilt of reeds, and tournaments on horseback and on foot, in both of which Philip often showed himself armed *cap-à-pie* in the lists and did his *devoir* in the presence of his fair bride, as became a royal knight. Another show, which might have been better reserved for a less joyous occasion, was exhibited to Isabella. As the court and the cortes were drawn together in Toledo, the Holy Office took the occasion to celebrate an *auto de fé*, which, from the number of the victims and quality of the spectators, was the most imposing spectacle of the kind ever witnessed in that capital.

[16] The royal nuptials were commemorated in a Latin poem, in two books, "De Pace et Nuptiis Philippi et Isabellæ." It was the work of Fernando Ruiz de Villegas, an eminent scholar of that day, whose writings did not make their appearance in print till nearly two centuries later,—and then not in his own land, but in Italy. In this *epithalamium*, if it may be so called, the poet represents Juno as invoking Jupiter to interfere in behalf of the French monarchy, that it may not be crushed by the arms of Spain. Venus, under the form of the duke of Alva,—as effectual a disguise as could be imagined,—takes her seat in the royal council, and implores Philip to admit France to terms, and to accept the hand of Isabella as the pledge of peace between the nations. Philip graciously relents; peace is proclaimed; the marriage between the parties is solemnized, with the proper Christian rites; and Venus appears, in her own proper shape, to bless the nuptials! One might have feared that this jumble of Christian rites and heathen mythology would have scandalized the Holy Office and exposed its ingenious author to the honors of a *san benito*. But the poet wore his laurels unscathed, and, for aught I know to the contrary, died quietly in his bed. See Opera Ferdinandi Ruizii Villegatis (Venetiis, 1736), pp. 30–70.

No country in Europe has so distinct an individuality as Spain; shown not merely in the character of the inhabitants, but in the smallest details of life,—in their national games, their dress, their social usages. The tenacity with which the people have clung to these amidst all the changes of dynasties and laws is truly admirable. Separated by their mountain-barrier from the central and eastern parts of Europe, and during the greater part of their existence brought into contact with Oriental forms of civilization, the Spaniards have been but little exposed to those influences which have given a homogeneous complexion to the other nations of Christendom. The system under which they have been trained is too peculiar to be much affected by these influences, and the ideas transmitted from their ancestors are too deeply settled in their minds to be easily disturbed. The present in Spain is but the mirror of the past. In other countries fashions become antiquated, old errors exploded, early tastes reformed. Not so in the Peninsula. The traveler has only to cross the Pyrenees to find himself a contemporary of the sixteenth century.*

The festivities of the court were suddenly terminated by the illness of Isabella, who was attacked by the smallpox. Her life was in no danger; but great fears were entertained lest the envious disease should prove fatal to her beauty. Her

* [The qualfications which this remark would require, if meant to be taken literally, will occur to most readers, even among those who have never crossed what is somewhat curiously described as the mountain-barrier separating Spain from "the central and eastern parts of Europe."—K.]

mother, Catherine de Medicis, had great apprehensions on this point; and couriers crossed the Pyrenees frequently, during the queen's illness, bringing prescriptions—some of them rather extraordinary—from the French doctors for preventing the ravages of the disorder.[17] Whether it was by reason of these nostrums, or her own excellent constitution, the queen was fortunate enough to escape from the sick-room without a scar.

Philip seems to have had much reason to be contented not only with the person but the disposition of his wife. As her marriage had formed one of the articles in the treaty with France, she was called by the Spaniards *Isabel de la Paz*,—"Isabella of the Peace." Her own countrymen no less fondly styled her "the Olive-Branch of Peace," —intimating the sweetness of her disposition.[18] In this respect she may be thought to have formed a contrast to Philip's former wife, Mary of England; at least after sickness and misfortune had done their work upon that queen's temper, in the latter part of her life.

If Isabella was not a scholar, like Mary, she at least was well instructed for the time, and was

[17] The sovereign remedy, according to the curious Brantôme, was new-laid eggs. It is a pity the prescription should be lost: "On luy secourust son visage si bien par des sueurs d'œufs frais, chose fort propre pour cela, qu'il n'y parut rien; dont j'en vis la Reyne sa mere fort curieuse à luy envoyer par force couriers beaucoup de remedes, mais celui de la sueur d'œuf en estoit le souverain." Œuvres, tom. v. p. 129.

[18] "Aussi l'appelloit-on *la Reyna de la paz y de la bondad*, c'est-à-dire la Reyne de la paix et de la bonté; et nos François l'appellarent l'olive de paix." Ibid., ubi supra.

fond of reading, especially poetry. She had a ready apprehension, and learned in a short time to speak the Castilian with tolerable fluency, while there was something pleasing in her foreign accent, that made her pronunciation the more interesting. She accommodated herself so well to the usages of her adopted nation that she soon won the hearts of the Spaniards. "No queen of Castile," says the loyal Brantôme, "with due deference to Isabella the Catholic, was ever so popular in the country." When she went abroad, it was usually with her face uncovered, after the manner of her countrywomen. The press was always great around her whenever she appeared in public, and happy was the man who could approach so near as to get a glimpse of her beautiful countenance.[19]

Yet Isabella never forgot the land of her birth; and such of her countrymen as visited the Castilian court were received by her with distinguished courtesy. She brought along with her in her train to Castile several French ladies of rank, as her maids of honor. But a rivalry soon grew up between them and the Spanish ladies in the palace, which compelled the queen, after she had in vain attempted to reconcile the parties, to send back most of her own countrywomen. In doing so she was careful to provide them with generous marriage-portions.[20]

[19] "Et bien heureux et heureuse estoit celuy ou celle qui pouvoit le soir dire 'J'ay veu la Reyne.'" Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 129.

[20] The difficulty began so soon as Isabella had crossed the borders. The countess of Ureña, sister of the duke of Albuquerque, one of the train of the duke of Infantado, claimed precedence of the

The queen maintained great state in her household, as was Philip's wish, who seems to have lavished on his lovely consort those attentions for which the unfortunate Mary Tudor had pined in vain. Besides a rare display of jewels, Isabella's wardrobe was exceedingly rich. Few of her robes cost less than three or four hundred crowns each, —a great sum for the time. Like her namesake and contemporary, Elizabeth of England, she rarely wore the same dress twice. But she gave away the discarded suit to her attendants,[21] unlike in this to the English queen, who hoarded up her wardrobe so carefully that at her death it must have displayed every fashion of her reign. Brantôme, who, both as a Frenchman and as one who had seen the queen often in the court of Castile, may be considered a judge in the matter, dwells with rapture on the elegance of her costume, the matchless taste in its arrangement, and the perfection of her *coiffure*.

countess of Rieux and Mademoiselle de Montpensier, kinswomen of the queen. The latter would have averted the discussion by giving the Castilian dame a seat in her carriage; but the haughty countess chose to take the affair into her own hands; and her servants came into collision with those of the French ladies, as they endeavored to secure a place for their mistress's litter near the queen. Isabella, with all her desire to accommodate matters, had the spirit to decide in favor of her own followers, and the aspiring lady was compelled—with an ill grace—to give way to the blood royal of France. It was easier, as Isabella, or rather as her husband, afterwards found, to settle disputes between rival states than between the rival beauties of a court. The affair is told by Lansac, Négociations relatives au Règne de François II., p. 171.

[21] "Elle ne porta jamais une robe deux fois, et puis la donnoit à ses femmes et ses filles: et Dieu sçait quelles robbes, si riches et si superbes, que la moindre estoit de trois ou quatre cens escus; car le Roy son mary l'entretenoit fort superbement de ces choses là." Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 140.

A manuscript of the time, by an eye-witness, gives a few particulars respecting her manner of living, in which some readers may take an interest. Among the persons connected with the queen's establishment, the writer mentions her confessor, her almoner, and four physicians. The medical art seems to have been always held in high repute in Spain, though in no country, considering the empirical character of its professors, with so little reason. At dinner the queen was usually attended by some thirty of her ladies. Two of them, singularly enough as it may seem to us, performed the office of carvers. Another served as cupbearer, and stood by her majesty's chair. The rest of her attendants stood around the apartment, conversing with their gallants, who, in a style to which she had not been used in the French court, kept their heads covered during the repast. "They were there," they said, "not to wait on the queen, but her ladies." After her solitary meal was over, Isabella retired with her attendants to her chamber, where, with the aid of music and such mirth as the buffoons and jesters of the palace could afford, she made shift to pass the evening.[22]

Such is the portrait which her contemporaries have left us of Elizabeth of France, and such the accounts of her popularity with the nation, and the state maintained in her establishment. Well might Brantôme sadly exclaim, "Alas! what did

[22] The MS., which is in Italian, is in the Royal Library at Paris. See the extracts from it in Raumer's Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 104, et seq.

it all avail?" A few brief years only were to pass away before this spoiled child of fortune, the delight of the monarch, the ornament and pride of the court, was to exchange the pomps and glories of her royal state for the dark chambers of the Escorial.

From Toledo the court proceeded to Valladolid, long the favorite residence of the Castilian princes, though not the acknowledged capital of the country. Indeed, there was no city, since the time of the Visigoths, that could positively claim that preeminence. This honor was reserved for Madrid, which became the established residence of the court under Philip, who in this but carried out the ideas of his father, Charles the Fifth.

The emperor had passed much time in this place, where, strange to say, the chief recommendation to him seems to have been the climate. Situated on a broad expanse of table-land, at an elevation of twenty-four hundred feet above the level of the sea, the brisk and rarefied atmosphere of Madrid proved favorable to Charles's health. It preserved him, in particular, from attacks of the fever and ague, which racked his constitution almost as much as the gout. In the ancient *alcazar* of the Moors he found a stately residence, which he made commodious by various alterations. Philip extended these improvements. He added new apartments, and spent much money in enlarging and embellishing the old ones. The ceilings were gilded and richly carved. The walls were hung with tapestries, and the saloons and galleries decorated with sculpture and with paintings,—many of them the

productions of native artists, the first disciples of a school which was one day to rival the great masters of Italy. Extensive grounds were also laid out around the palace, and a park was formed, which in time came to be covered with a growth of noble trees, and well stocked with game. The *alcazar*, thus improved, became a fitting residence for the sovereign of Spain. Indeed, if we may trust the magnificent vaunt of a contemporary, it was "allowed by foreigners to be the rarest thing of the kind possessed by any monarch in Christendom." [23] It continued to be the abode of the Spanish princes until, in 1734, in the reign of Philip the Fifth, the building was destroyed by a fire, which lasted nearly a week. But it rose like a phœnix from its ashes; and a new palace was raised on the site of the old one, of still larger dimensions, presenting in the beauty of its materials as well as of its execution one of the noblest monuments of the architecture of the eighteenth century.[24]

Having completed his arrangements, Philip established his residence at Madrid in 1563. The town then contained about twelve thousand inhabitants. Under the forcing atmosphere of a court, the population rose by the end of his long reign

[23] "Don Felipe Segundo nuestro señor, el cual con muy suntuosas, y exquisitas fábricas dignas de tan grande Principe, de nuevo le ilustra, de manera que es, consideradas todas sus calidades, la mas rara casa que ningun Principe tiene en el mundo, á dicho de los estrangeros." Juan Lopez, ap. Quintana, Antiguëdad, Nobleza y Grandeza de la Villa y Corte de Madrid, p. 331.

[24] Ibid., ubi supra.—Sylva, Poblacion de España (Madrid, 1675), cap. 4.—Estrada, Poblacion de España (Madrid, 1748), tom. i. p. 123.

to three hundred thousand,[25]—a number which it has probably not since exceeded.* The accommodations in the capital kept pace with the increase of population. Everything was built for duration. Instead of flimsy houses that might serve for a temporary residence, the streets were lined with strong and substantial edifices. Under the royal patronage public works on a liberal scale were executed. Madrid was ornamented with bridges, aqueducts, hospitals, the Museum, the armory,—stately structures which even now challenge our admiration, not less by the excellence of their designs than by the richness of their collections and the enlightened taste which they infer at this early period.

In the opinion of its inhabitants, indeed we may say of the nation, Madrid surpassed not only every other city in the country, but in Christendom. "There is but one Madrid," says the Spanish proverb.[26] "When Madrid is the theme, the world listens in silence!"[27] In a similar key, the old Castilian writers celebrate the glories of their capital,—the nursery of wit, genius, and gallantry,—

[25] I quote the words of a work now become very scarce: "De dos mil y quinientas y veinte casas que tenia Madrid quando su Magestad traxo desde Toledo á ella la Corte, en las quales quando mucho avria de doce mil a catorce mil personas, . . . avia el año de mil y quinientos y noventa y ocho, repartidas en trece Parroquias doce mil casas, y en ellas trescientas mil personas y mas." Quintana, Antiguëdad de Madrid, p. 331.†

[26] "No hay sino un Madrid."

[27] "Donde Madrid está, calle el Mundo."

* [The population of Madrid in 1897 was 512,150.—M.]

† [There is an obvious discordancy in these numbers: twelve thousand houses cannot have sheltered a population of three hundred thousand persons.—K.]

and expatiate on the temperature of a climate propitious alike to the beauty of the women and the bravery of the men.[28]

Yet, with all this lofty panegyric, the foreigner is apt to see things through a very different medium from that through which they are seen by the patriotic eye of the native. The traveller to Madrid finds little to praise in a situation where the keen winds from the mountains come laden with disease, and where the subtle atmosphere, to use one of the national proverbs, that can hardly put out a candle, will extinguish the life of a man;[29] where the capital, insulated in the midst of a dreary expanse of desert, seems to be cut off from sympathy, if not from intercourse, with the provinces;[30] and where, instead of a great river that might open to it a commerce with distant quarters of the globe, it is washed only by a stream,—"the far-famed Manzanares,"—the bed of which in summer is a barren water-course. The traveller may well doubt whether the fanciful

[28] "No se conoce cielo mas benevolo, mas apacible clima, influxo mas favorable, con que sobresalen hermosos rostros, disposiciones gallardas, lucidos ingenios, coraçones valientes, y generosos animos." Sylva, Poblacion de España, cap. 4.

[29] "El aire de Madrid es tan sotil
Que mata a un hombre, y no apaga a un candil."

[30] Lucio Marineo gives a very different view of the environs of Madrid in Ferdinand and Isabella's time. The picture, by the hand of a contemporary, affords so striking a contrast to the present time that it is worth quoting: "Corren por ella los ayres muy delgados: por los quales siẽpre bive la gẽte muy sana. Tiene mas este lugar grãdes terminos y campos muy fertiles: los quales llamã lomos de Madrid. Por que cojen en ellos mucho pan y vino, y otras cosas necessarias y mãtenimientos muy sanos." Cosas memorables de España, fol. 13.

advantage, so much vaunted, of being the centre of Spain, is sufficient to compensate the manifold evils of such a position, and even whether those are far from truth who find in this position one of the many causes of the decline of the national prosperity.[31] *

A full experience of the inconveniences of the site of the capital led Charles the Third to contemplate its removal to Seville. But it was too late. Madrid had been too long, in the Castilian boast, "the only court in the world," [32]—the focus to which converged talent, fashion, and wealth from all quarters of the country. Too many patriotic associations had gathered round it to warrant its desertion; and, in spite of its local disadvantages, the capital planted by Philip the Second continued to remain, as it will probably ever remain, the capital of the Spanish monarchy.

[31] Such at least is Ford's opinion. (See the Handbook of Spain, p. 720, et seq.) His clever and caustic remarks on the climate of Madrid will disenchant the traveller whose notions of the capital have been derived only from the reports of the natives.

[32] "Solo Madrid es corte."—Ford, who has certainly not ministered to the vanity of the Madrileño, has strung together these various proverbs with good effect.

* ["Tres meses de invierno y nueve meses de infierno" is the punning and pungent way in which the Spaniards speak of the climate of Madrid.—M.]

CHAPTER V

DISCONTENT IN THE NETHERLANDS

The Reformation—Its Progress in the Netherlands—General Discontent—William of Orange

THE middle of the sixteenth century presented one of those crises which have occurred at long intervals in the history of Europe, when the course of events has had a permanent influence on the destiny of nations. Scarcely forty years had elapsed since Luther had thrown down the gauntlet to the Vatican by publicly burning the papal bull at Wittenberg. Since that time, his doctrines had been received in Denmark and Sweden. In England, after a state of vacillation for three reigns, Protestantism, in the peculiar form which it still wears, was become the established religion of the state. The fiery cross had gone round over the hills and valleys of Scotland, and thousands and tens of thousands had gathered to hear the words of life from the lips of Knox. The doctrines of Luther were spread over the northern parts of Germany, and freedom of worship was finally guaranteed there, by the treaty of Passau.* The Low Countries were the "debata-

* [The arrangement made at Passau was only a truce. The Peace of Augsburg, made in 1555, determined the religious status of Germany. Under it there was no "freedom of worship" except for the princes. The clause "Cujus regio, ejus religio" gave a prince power to prescribe the religion for his subjects. No regard

ble land," on which the various sects of Reformers, the Lutheran, the Calvinist, the English Protestant, contended for mastery with the established Church. Calvinism was embraced by some of the cantons of Switzerland, and at Geneva its great apostle had fixed his head-quarters. His doctrines were widely circulated through France, till the divided nation was preparing to plunge into that worst of all wars, in which the hand of brother is raised against brother. The cry of reform had even passed the Alps, and was heard under the walls of the Vatican. It had crossed the Pyrenees. The king of Navarre declared himself a Protestant; and the spirit of the Reformation had secretly insinuated itself into Spain, and taken hold, as we have seen, of the middle and southern provinces of the kingdom.

A contemporary of the period, who reflected on the onward march of the new religion over every obstacle in its path, who had seen it gather under its banners states and nations once the most loyal and potent vassals of Rome, would have had little reason to doubt that before the end of the century the Reform would have extended its sway over the whole of Christendom. Fortunately for Catholicism, the most powerful empire in Europe was in the hands of a prince who was devoted with his whole soul to the interests of the Church. Philip

whatever was paid to the preferences of the people. A Catholic prince might force thousands of Lutherans to the mass; a Protestant lord might compel all his Roman Catholic subjects to attend the Lutheran services. Calvinists fared worst of all. There was no place whatsoever for them, because no prince had embraced the doctrines of Calvin when the agreement at Augsburg was reached.—M.]

the Second understood the importance of his position. His whole life proves that he felt it to be his especial mission to employ his great resources to restore the tottering fortunes of Catholicism and stay the progress of the torrent which was sweeping away every landmark of the primitive faith.

We have seen the manner in which he crushed the efforts of the Protestants in Spain. This was the first severe blow struck at the Reformation. Its consequences cannot well be exaggerated; not the immediate results, which would have been little without the subsequent reforms and increased activity of the Church of Rome itself. But the moral influence of such a blow, when the minds of men had been depressed by a long series of reverses, is not to be estimated. In view of this, one of the most eminent Roman Catholic writers does not hesitate to remark that "the power and abilities of Philip the Second afforded a counterpoise to the Protestant cause, which prevented it from making itself master of Europe."[1] * The blow was struck; and from this period little beyond its present conquests was to be gained for the cause of the Reformation.

It was not to be expected that Philip, after having exterminated heresy in one part of his dominions, should tolerate its existence in any other,—least of all in a country so important as the Netherlands. Yet a little reflection might have satisfied him that the same system of measures could hardly

[1] Balmes, Protestantism and Catholicity Compared, p. 215.

* [An agency of almost equal weight was the Society of Jesus.—M.]

be applied with a prospect of success to two countries so differently situated as Spain and the Netherlands. The Romish faith may be said to have entered into the being of the Spaniard. It was not merely cherished as a form of religion, but as a principle of honor. It was part of the national history. For eight centuries the Spaniard had been fighting at home the battles of the Church. Nearly every inch of soil in his own country was won by arms from the infidel. His wars, as I have more than once had occasion to remark, were all wars of religion. He carried the same spirit across the waters. There he was still fighting the infidel. His life was one long crusade. How could this champion of the Church desert her in her utmost need?

With this predisposition, it was easy for Philip to enforce obedience in a people naturally the most loyal to their princes, to whom, moreover, since the fatal war of the *Comunidades*, they had been accustomed to pay an almost Oriental submission. Intrenched behind the wall of the Pyrenees, Spain, we must bear in mind, felt little of the great shock which was convulsing France and the other states of Europe; and with the aid of so formidable an engine as the Inquisition it was easy to exterminate, before they could take root, such seeds of heresy as had been borne by the storm across the mountains.

The Netherlands, on the other hand, lay like a valley among the hills, which drinks in all the waters of the surrounding country. They were a common reservoir for the various opinions which

agitated the nations on their borders. On the south were the Lutherans of Germany; the French Huguenots pressed them on the west; and by the ocean they held communication with England and the nations of the Baltic. The soldier quartered on their territory, the seaman who visited their shores, the trader who trafficked in their towns, brought with them different forms of the new religion. Books from France and from Germany circulated widely among a people nearly all of whom, as we have seen, were able to read.

The new doctrines were discussed by men accustomed to think and act for themselves. Freedom of speculation on religious topics soon extended to political. It was the natural tendency of reform. The same spirit of free inquiry which attacked the foundations of unity of faith stood ready next to assail those of unity of government; and men began boldly to criticise the rights of kings and the duties of subjects.

The spirit of independence was fostered by the institutions of the country. The provinces of the Netherlands, if not republican in form, were filled with the spirit of republics. In many of their features they call to mind the free states of Italy in the Middle Ages. Under the petty princes who ruled over them in early days, they had obtained charters, as we have seen, which secured a certain degree of constitutional freedom. The province of Brabant, above all, gloried in its "*Joyeuse Entrée*," which guaranteed privileges and immunities of a more liberal character than those pos-

sessed by the other states of the Netherlands. When the provinces passed at length under the sceptre of a single sovereign, he lived at a distance,* and the government was committed to a viceroy. Since their connection with Spain, the administration had been for the most part in the hands of a woman; and the delegated authority of a woman pressed but lightly on the independent temper of the Flemings.

Yet Charles the Fifth, as we have seen, partial as he was to his countrymen in the Netherlands, could ill brook their audacious spirit, and made vigorous efforts to repress it. But his zeal for the spiritual welfare of his people never led him to overlook their material interests. He had no design by his punishments to cripple their strength, much less to urge them to extremity. When the regent, Mary of Hungary, his sister, warned him that his laws bore too heavily on the people to be endured, he was careful to mitigate their severity. His edicts in the name of religion were, indeed, written in blood. But the frequency of their repetition shows, as already remarked, the imperfect manner in which they were executed. This was still further proved by the prosperous condition of the people, the flourishing aspect of the various branches of industry, and the great enterprises to facilitate commercial intercourse and foster the activity of the country. At the close of Charles's reign, or rather at the commencement of

* [It would be vain to conjecture what sovereign is here alluded to. Charles V. was the first absentee, if even he could be so called; and when he inherited the provinces they had been united under a common sceptre for nearly a century.—K.]

his successor's, in 1560, was completed the grand canal extending from Antwerp to Brussels, the construction of which had consumed thirty years and one million eight hundred thousand florins.[2] Such a work, at such a period,—the fruit not of royal patronage, but of the public spirit of the citizens,—is evidence both of large resources and of wisdom in the direction of them. In this state of things, it is not surprising that the Flemings, feeling their own strength, should have assumed a free and independent tone little grateful to the ear of a sovereign. So far had this spirit of liberty—or license, as it was termed—increased, in the latter part of the emperor's reign, that the Regent Mary, when her brother abdicated, chose also to resign, declaring, in a letter to him, that "she would not continue to live with, much less to reign over, a people whose manners had undergone such a change,—in whom respect for God and man seemed no longer to exist."[3]

A philosopher who should have contemplated at that day the condition of the country, and the civilization at which it had arrived, might feel satisfied that a system of toleration in religious matters would be the one best suited to the genius of the

[2] "Il y avoit bien 30. ans que ceux de Brusselles avoyent commencé, et avoyent percé des collines, des champs et chemins, desquels ils avoient achapté les fonds des proprietaires, on y avoit faict 40. grandes escluses . . . et cousta dix huits cent mille florins." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, tom. i. fol. 26.

[3] "Je vois une grande jeunesse en ces pays, avec les mœurs desquelz ne me sçaurois ny ne voudrois accommoder; la fidélité du monde et respect envers Dieu et son prince si corrompuz, . . . que ne désirerois pas seullement de les pas gouverner, . . . mais aussy me fasche de le veoir, congnoistre et de vivre . . . entre telles gens." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. iv. p. 476.

people and the character of their institutions. But Philip was no philosopher; and toleration was a virtue not understood, at that time, by Calvinist any more than by Catholic. The question, therefore, is not whether the end he proposed was the best one,—on this, few at the present day will differ,—but whether Philip took the best means for effecting that end. This is the point of view from which his conduct in the Netherlands should be criticised.

Here, in the outset, he seems to have fallen into a capital error, by committing so large a share in the government to the hands of a foreigner,—Granvelle. The country was filled with nobles, some of them men of the highest birth, whose ancestors were associated with the most stirring national recollections, and who were endeared, moreover, to their countrymen by their own services. To several of these Philip himself was under no slight obligations for the aid they had afforded him in the late war,—on the fields of Gravelines and St. Quentin, and in the negotiation of the treaty which closed his hostilities with France. It was hardly to be expected that these proud nobles, conscious of their superior claims, and accustomed to so much authority and deference in their own land, would tamely submit to the control of a stranger, a man of obscure family, like his father indebted for his elevation to the royal favor.

Besides these great lords, there was a numerous aristocracy, inferior nobles and cavaliers, many of whom had served under the standard of Charles in

his long wars. They there formed those formidable companies of *ordonnance*, whose fame perhaps stood higher than that of any other corps of the imperial cavalry. The situation of these men, now disbanded, and, with their roving military habits, hanging loosely on the country, has been compared by a modern author to that which on the accession of the Bourbons was occupied by the soldiers whom Napoleon had so often led to victory.[4] To add to their restlessness, many of these, as well as of the higher nobility, were embarrassed by debts contracted in their campaigns, or by too ambitious expenditure at home, especially in rivalry with the ostentatious Spaniard. "The Flemish nobles," says a writer of the time, "were too many of them oppressed by heavy debts and the payment of exorbitant interest. They spent twice as much as they were worth on their palaces, furniture, troops of retainers, costly liveries, their banquets and sumptuous entertainments of every description,—in fine, in every form of luxury and superfluity that could be devised. Thus discontent became prevalent through the country, and men anxiously looked forward to some change."[5]

[4] Gerlache, Histoire du Royaume des Pays-Bas (Bruxelles, 1842), tom. i. p. 71.

[5] "Es menester ver como la nobleza se ha desde mucho tiempo desmandada y empeñada por usura y gastos superfluos, gastando casi mas que doble de lo que tenian en edificios, muebles, festines, danzas, mascaradas, fuegos de dados, naipes, vestidos, libreas, seguimiento de criados y generalmente en todas suertes de deleytes, luxuria, y superfluidad, lo que se avia comenzado antes de la yda de su magestad á España. Y desde entonces uvo un descontento casi general en el pais y esperanza de esta gente asi alborotada de veer en poco tiempo una mudanza." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

Still another element of discontent, and one that extended to all classes, was antipathy to the Spaniards. It had not been easy to repress this even under the rule of Charles the Fifth, who had shown such manifest preference for his Flemish subjects. But now it was more decidedly called out, under a monarch whose sympathies lay altogether on the side of their rivals. No doubt this popular sentiment is to be explained partly by the contrast afforded by the characters of the two nations, so great as hardly to afford a point of contact between them. But it may be fairly charged to a great extent on the Spaniards themselves, who, while they displayed many noble and magnanimous traits at home, seemed desirous to exhibit only the repulsive side of their character to the eye of the stranger. Cold and impenetrable, assuming an arrogant tone of superiority over every other nation, in whatever land it was their destiny to be cast, England, Italy, or the Netherlands, as allies or as enemies, we find the Spaniards of that day equally detested. Brought with them, as the people of the Netherlands were, under a common sceptre, a spirit of comparison and rivalry grew up, which induced a thousand causes of irritation.

The difficulty was still further increased by the condition of the neighboring countries, where the minds of the inhabitants were now in the highest state of fermentation in matters of religion. In short, the atmosphere seemed everywhere to be in that highly electrified condition which bodes the coming tempest. In this critical state of things, it was clear that it was only by a most careful and

considerate policy that harmony could be maintained in the Netherlands,—a policy manifesting alike tenderness for the feelings of the nation and respect for its institutions.

Having thus shown the general aspect of things when the duchess of Parma entered on her regency, towards the close of 1559, it is time to go forward with the narrative of the prominent events which led to the War of the Revolution.

We have already seen that Philip, on leaving the country, lodged the administration nominally in three councils, although in truth it was on the council of state that the weight of government actually rested. Even here the nobles who composed it were of little account in matters of real importance, which were reserved for a *consulta*, consisting, besides the regent, of Granvelle, Count Barlaimont, and the learned jurist Viglius. As the last two were altogether devoted to Granvelle, and the regent was instructed to defer greatly to his judgment, the government of the Netherlands may be said to have been virtually deposited in the hands of the bishop of Arras.

At the head of the Flemish nobles in the council of state, and indeed in the country, taking into view their rank, fortune, and public services, stood Count Egmont and the prince of Orange. I have already given some account of the former, and the reader has seen the important part which he took in the great victories of Gravelines and St. Quentin. To the prince of Orange Philip had also been indebted for his counsel in conducting the war, and still more for the aid which he had afforded in the

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negotiations for peace. It will be proper, before going further, to give the reader some particulars of this celebrated man, the great leader in the war of the Netherlands.

William, prince of Orange, was born at Dillenburg, in the German duchy of Nassau, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1533. He was descended from a house one of whose branches had given an emperor to Germany; and William's own ancestors were distinguished by the employments they had held, and the services they had rendered, both in Germany and the Low Countries. It was a proud vaunt of his, that Philip was under larger obligations to him than he to Philip, and that but for the house of Nassau the king of Spain would not be able to write as many titles as he now did after his name.[6]

When eleven years old, by the death of his cousin René he came into possession of a large domain in Holland, and a still larger property in Brabant, where he held the title of Lord of Breda. To these was added the splendid inheritance of Chalons, and of the principality of Orange; which, however, situated at a distance, in the heart of France, might seem to be held by a somewhat precarious tenure.

William's parents were both Lutherans, and in their faith he was educated. But Charles saw with displeasure the false direction thus given to one who at a future day was to occupy so distinguished

[6] Apologie de Guillaume IX. Prince d'Orange contre la Proscription de Philippe II. Roi d'Espagne, présentée aux Etats Généraux des Pays-Bas, le 13 Décembre, 1580, ap. Dumont, Corps diplomatique, tom. v. p. 384.

a position among his Flemish vassals. With the consent of his parents, the child, in his twelfth year, was removed to Brussels, to be brought up in the family of the emperor's sister, the Regent Mary of Hungary. However their consent to this may be explained, it certainly seems that their zeal for the spiritual welfare of their son was not such as to stand in the way of his temporal. In the family of the regent the youth was bred a Catholic, while in all respects he received an education suited to his rank.[7] It is an interesting fact that his preceptor was a younger brother of Granvelle,—the man with whom William was afterwards to be placed in an attitude of such bitter hostility.

When fifteen years of age, the prince was taken into the imperial household, and became the page of Charles the Fifth. The emperor was not slow in discerning the extraordinary qualities of the youth; and he showed it by intrusting him, as he grew older, with various important commissions. He was accompanied by the prince on his military expeditions; and Charles gave a remarkable proof of his confidence in his capacity, by raising him, at the age of twenty-two, over the heads of veteran officers and giving him the command of the imperial forces engaged in the siege of Marienburg.

[7] M. Groen Van Prinsterer has taken some pains to explain the conduct of William's parents, on the ground, chiefly, that they had reason to think their son, after all, might be allowed to worship according to the way in which he had been educated (p. 195). But, whatever concessions to the Protestants may have been wrung from Charles by considerations of public policy, we suspect few who have studied his character will believe that he would ever have consented to allow one of his own household, one to whom he stood in the relation of a guardian, to be nurtured in the faith of heretics.

During the six months that William was in command they were still occupied with the siege, and with the construction of a fortress for the protection of Flanders. There was little room for military display. But the troops were in want of food and of money, and their young commander's conduct under these embarrassments was such as to vindicate the wisdom of his appointment. Charles afterwards employed him on several diplomatic missions,—a more congenial field for the exercise of his talents, which appear to have been better suited to civil than to military affairs.

The emperor's regard for the prince seems to have increased with his years, and he gave public proof of it, in the last hour of his reign, by leaning on William's shoulder, at the time of his abdication, when he made his parting address to the states of the Netherlands. He showed this still further by selecting him for the honorable mission of bearing the imperial crown to Ferdinand.

On his abdication, Charles earnestly commended William to his successor. Philip profited by his services in the beginning of his reign, when the prince of Orange, who had followed him in the French war, was made one of the four plenipotentiaries for negotiating the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, for the execution of which he remained as one of the hostages in France.

While at the court of Henry the Second, it will be remembered, the prince became acquainted with the secret designs of the French and Spanish monarchs against the Protestants in their dominions; and he resolved from that hour to devote all his

strength to expel the " Spanish vermin " from the Netherlands. One must not infer from this, however, that William at this early period meditated the design of shaking off the rule of Spain altogether. The object he had in view went no further than to relieve the country from the odious presence of the Spanish troops and to place the administration in those hands to which it rightfully belonged. They, however, who set a revolution in motion have not always the power to stop it. If they can succeed in giving it a direction, they will probably be carried forward by it beyond their intended limits, until, gathering confidence with success, they aim at an end far higher than that which they had originally proposed. Such, doubtless, was the case with William of Orange.

Notwithstanding the emperor's recommendation, the prince of Orange was not the man whom Philip selected for his confidence. Nor was it possible for William to regard the king with the same feelings which he had entertained for the emperor. To Charles the prince was under obvious obligations for his nurture in early life. His national pride, too, was not wounded by having a Spaniard for a sovereign, since Charles was not by birth, much less in heart, a Spaniard. All this was reversed in Philip, in whom William saw only the representative of a detested race. The prudent reserve which marked the character of each, no doubt, prevented the outward demonstration of their sentiments; but from their actions we may readily infer the instinctive aversion which the two parties entertained for each other.

At the early age of eighteen, William married Anne of Egmont, daughter of the count of Büren. The connection was a happy one, if we may trust the loving tone of their correspondence. Unhappily, in a few years their union was dissolved by the lady's death. The prince did not long remain a widower before he made proposals to the daughter of the duchess of Lorraine. The prospect of such a match gave great dissatisfaction to Philip, who had no mind to see his Flemish vassal allied with the family of a great feudatory of France.* Disappointed in this quarter, William next paid his addresses to Anne of Saxony, an heiress whose large possessions made her one of the most brilliant matches in Germany. William's passion and his interest, it is remarked, kept time well together.

The course of love, however, was not destined to run smoothly on the present occasion. Anne was the daughter of Maurice, the great Lutheran champion, the implacable enemy of Charles the Fifth. Left early an orphan, she had been reared in the family of her uncle, the elector of Saxony, in the strictest tenets of the Lutheran faith. Such a connection was, of course, every way distasteful to Philip, to whom William was willing so far to defer as to solicit his approbation, though he did not mean to be controlled by it.[8] The correspond-

[8] See particularly Margaret's letter to the king, of March 13th, 1560, Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 260, et seq.

* [As Lorraine was a fief, not of France, but of the Empire, this cannot have been the ground of Philip's opposition to the match, the fact of which, indeed, though probable enough in itself, rests on no certain evidence.—K.]

ence on the subject, in which both the regent and Granvelle took an active part, occupies as much space in collections of the period as more important negotiations. The prince endeavored to silence the king's scruples by declaring that he was too much a Catholic at heart to marry any woman who was not of the same persuasion as himself, and that he had received assurances from the elector that his wife in this respect should entirely conform to his wishes. The elector had scruples as to the match, no less than Philip, though on precisely the opposite grounds; and, after the prince's assurance to the king, one is surprised to find that an understanding must have existed with the elector that Anne should be allowed the undisturbed enjoyment of her own religion.[9] This double-dealing leaves a disagreeable impression in regard to William's character. Yet it does not seem, to judge from his later life, to be altogether inconsistent with it. Machiavelli is the author whom he is said to have had most frequently in his hand;[10] and in the policy with which he shaped his course we may sometimes fancy that we can discern the influence of the Italian statesman.

The marriage was celebrated with great pomp at Leipsic, on the twenty-fifth of August, 1561. The king of Denmark, several of the electors, and many princes and nobles of both Germany and the Low Countries, were invited guests; and the

[9] M. Groen Van Prinsterer has industriously collated the correspondence of the several parties, which must be allowed to form an edifying chapter in the annals of matrimonial diplomacy. See Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 202.

[10] Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. i. p. 251.

whole assembly present on the occasion was estimated at nearly six thousand persons.[11] The king of Spain complimented the bride by sending her a jewel worth three thousand ducats.[12] It proved, however, as Granvelle had predicted, an ill-assorted union. After living together for nearly thirteen years, the prince, weary of the irregularities of his wife, separated from her, and sent her back to her friends in Germany.

During his residence in Brussels, William easily fell into the way of life followed by the Flemish nobles. He was very fond of the healthy exercise of the chase, and especially of hawking. He was social, indeed convivial, in his habits, after the fashion of his countrymen,[13] and was addicted to gallantries, which continued long enough, it is said, to suggest an apology for the disorderly conduct of his wife. He occupied the ancient palace of his family at Brussels, where he was surrounded by lords and cavaliers and a numerous retinue of menials.[14] He lived in great state, displaying a profuse magnificence in his entertainments; and few there were, natives or foreigners, who had any

[11] Raumer, Hist. Tasch., p. 109, ap. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 115.

[12] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 284.

[13] It may give some idea of the scale of William's domestic establishment to state that, on reducing it to a more economical standard, twenty-eight head-cooks were dismissed. (Van der Haer, De Initiis Tumult., p. 182, ap. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 200*.) The same contemporary tells us that there were few princes in Germany who had not one cook, at least, that had served an apprenticeship in William's kitchen,—the best school in that day for the noble science of gastronomy.

[14] "Audivi rem domesticam sic splendide habuisse ut at ordinarium domus ministerium haberet 24 Nobiles, pueros vero Nobiles (Pagios nominamus) 18." Ibid., ubi supra.

claim on his hospitality, that did not receive it.[15] By this expensive way of life he encumbered his estate with a heavy debt, amounting, if we may take Granvelle's word, to nine hundred thousand florins.[16] Yet, if William's own account, but one year later, be true, the debt was then brought within a very moderate compass.[17]

With his genial habits and love of pleasure, and with manners the most attractive, he had not the free and open temper which often goes along with them. He was called by his contemporaries "William the Silent." * Perhaps the epithet was intended to indicate not so much his taciturnity, as that impenetrable reserve which locked up his secrets closely within his bosom. No man knew better how to keep his counsel, even from those who acted with him. But, while masking his own

[15] "Rei domesticæ splendor, famulorumque et asseclarum multitudo magnis Principibus par. Nec ulla toto Belgio sedes hospitalior, ad quam frequentiùs peregrini Proceres Legatique diverterent, exciperenturque magnificentiùs, quàm Orangii domus." Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 99.

[16] "Le prince d'Orange, qui tient un grand état de maison, et mène à sa suite des comtes, des barons et beaucoup d'autres gentilshommes d'Allemagne, doit, pour le moins, 900,000 fl." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 239.

[17] In January, 1564, we find him writing to his brother, "Puis qu'il ne reste que à XV. cens florins par an, que serons bien tost délivré des debtes." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 196.

* [Henry II. of France, while hunting with the Prince of Orange, confided to the prince the scheme which had been formed by Philip II. and himself to extirpate Protestantism. The details were so atrocious as to horrify the prince beyond measure. "William of Orange earned the name of 'the Silent' from the manner in which he received these communications of Henry without revealing to the monarch, by word or look, the enormous blunder which he had committed." Motley, The Rise of the Dutch Republic, part ii. chap. i.—M.]

designs, no man was more sagacious in penetrating those of others. He carried on an extensive correspondence in foreign countries, and employed every means for getting information. Thus, while he had it in his power to outwit others, it was very rare that he became their dupe. Though on ordinary occasions frugal of words, when he did speak it was with effect. His eloquence was of the most persuasive kind;[18] and as towards his inferiors he was affable, and exceedingly considerate of their feelings, he acquired an unbounded ascendency over his countrymen.[19] It must be admitted that the prince of Orange possessed many rare qualities for the leader of a great revolution.

The course William took in respect to his wife's religion might lead one to doubt whether he were at heart Catholic or Protestant, or indeed whether he were not equally indifferent to both persuasions. The latter opinion might be strengthened by a remark imputed to him, that "he would not have his wife trouble herself with such melancholy books as the Scriptures, but instead of them amuse herself with Amadis de Gaul, and other pleasant

[18] "Il estoit d'une éloquence admirable, avec laquelle il mettoit en évidence les conceptions sublimes de son esprit, et faisoit plier les aultres seigneurs de la court, ainsy que bon luy sembloit." Gachard (Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii., Préface, p. 3), who quotes a manuscript of the sixteenth century, preserved in the library of Arras, entitled "Commencement de l'Histoire des Troubles des Pays-Bas, advenuz soubz le Gouvernement de Madame la Duchesse de Parme."

[19] "Sy estoit singulièrement aimé et bien vollu de la commune, pour une gracieuse façon de faire qu'il avoit de saluer, caresser et arraisonner privément et familièrement tout le monde." Ibid., ubi supra.

writers of the kind." [20] "The prince of Orange," says a writer of the time, "passed for a Catholic among Catholics, a Lutheran among Lutherans. If he could, he would have had a religion compounded of both. In truth, he looked on the Christian religion like the ceremonies which Numa introduced, as a sort of politic invention." [21] Granvelle, in a letter to Philip, speaks much to the same purpose.[22] These portraits were by unfriendly hands. Those who take a different view of his character, while they admit that in his early days his opinions in matters of faith were unsettled, contend that in time he became sincerely attached to the doctrines which he defended with his sword. This seems to be no more than natural. But the reader will have an opportunity of judging for himself, when he has followed the great chief through the changes of his stormy career.

It would be strange, indeed, if the leader in a religious revolution should have been himself without any religious convictions. One thing is certain, he possessed a spirit of toleration, the more honorable that in that day it was so rare. He

[20] "Il ne l'occuperoit point de ces choses mélancoliques, mais il lui feroit lire, au lieu des Saintes-Ecritures, Amadis de Gaule et d'autres livres amusants du même genre." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 203*.

[21] "Il estoit du nombre de ceulx qui pensent que la religion chrestienne soit une invention politique, pour contenir le peuple en office par voie de Dieu, non plus ni moins que les cérémonies, divinations et superstitions que Numa Pompilius introduisit à Rome." Commencement de l'Hist. des Troubles, MS., ap. Gachard, Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii., Préface, p. 5.

[22] "Tantôt Catholique, tantôt Calviniste ou Luthérien selon les différentes occasions, et selon ses divers desseins." Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. ii. p. 54.

condemned the Calvinists as restless and seditious; the Catholics, for their bigoted attachment to a dogma. Persecution in matters of faith he totally condemned, for freedom of judgment in such matters he regarded as the inalienable right of man.[23] These conclusions, at which the world, after an incalculable amount of human suffering, has been three centuries in arriving (has it altogether arrived at them yet?), must be allowed to reflect great credit on the character of William.

[23] "Estimant, ainsy que faisoient lors beaucoup de catholiques, que c'estoit chose cruelle de faire mourir ung homme, pour seulement avoir soustenu une opinion, jasoit qu'elle fût erronée." MS. quoted by Gachard, Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii., Préface, p. 4.

CHAPTER VI

OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT

Grounds of Complaint—The Spanish Troops—The New Bishoprics —Influence of Granvelle—Opposed by the Nobles—His Unpopularity

1559–1562

THE first cause of trouble, after Philip's departure from the Netherlands, arose from the detention of the Spanish troops there. The king had pledged his word, it will be remembered, that they should leave the country by the end of four months, at farthest. Yet that period had long since passed, and no preparations were made for their departure. The indignation of the people rose higher and higher at the insult thus offered by the presence of these detested foreigners. It was a season of peace. No invasion was threatened from abroad; no insurrection existed at home. There was nothing to require the maintenance of an extraordinary force, much less of one composed of foreign troops. It could only be that the king, distrusting his Flemish subjects, designed to overawe them by his mercenaries in sufficient strength to enforce his arbitrary acts. The free spirit of the Netherlanders was roused by these suggestions, and they boldly demanded the removal of the Spaniards.

Granvelle himself, who would willingly have pleased his master by retaining a force in the coun-

try on which he could rely, admitted that the project was impracticable. "The troops must be withdrawn," he wrote, "and that speedily, or the consequence will be an insurrection." [1] The states would not consent, he said, to furnish the necessary subsidies while they remained. The prince of Orange and Count Egmont threw up the commands intrusted to them by the king. They dared no longer hold them, as, the minister added, it was so unpopular.[2]

The troops had much increased the difficulty by their own misconduct. They were drawn from the great mass, often the dregs, of the people; and their morals, such as they were, had not been improved in the life of the camp. However strict their discipline in time of active service, it was greatly relaxed in their present state of inaction; and they had full license, as well as leisure, to indulge their mischievous appetites, at the expense of the unfortunate districts in which they were quartered.

Yet Philip was slow in returning an answer to the importunate letters of the regent and the minister; and when he did reply it was to evade their request, lamenting his want of funds, and declaring his purpose to remove the forces so soon as he could pay their arrears. The public exchequer

[1] "No se vee que puedan quedar aquí mas tiempo sin grandissimo peligro de que dende agora las cosas entrassen en alboroto." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 166.

[2] "Harto se declaran y el Príncipe d'Oranges y Monsr d'Egmont que aunque tuviessen la mayor voluntad del mundo para servir en esto á V. M. de tener cargo mas tiempo de los Españoles, no lo osarian emprender si bolviessen, por no perderse y su crédito y reputacion con estos estados." Ibid., p. 197.

was undoubtedly at a low ebb; lower in Spain than in the Netherlands.[3] But no one could believe the royal credit so far reduced as not to be able to provide for the arrears of three or four thousand soldiers. The regent, however, saw that, with or without instructions, it was necessary to act. Several of the members of the council became sureties for the payment of the arrears, and the troops were ordered to Zealand, in order to embark for Spain. But the winds proved unfavorable. Two months longer they were detained, on shore or on board the transports. They soon got into brawls with the workmen employed on the dikes; and the inhabitants, still apprehensive of orders from the king countermanding the departure of the Spaniards, resolved, in such an event, to abandon the dikes and lay the country under water![4] Fortunately, they were not driven to this extremity. In January, 1561, more than a year after the date assigned by Philip, the nation was relieved of the presence of the intruders.[5]

[3] Some notion of the extent of these embarrassments may be formed from a schedule prepared by the king's own hand, in September, 1560. From this it appears that the ordinary sources of revenue were already mortgaged, and that, taking into view all available means, there was reason to fear there would be a deficiency at the end of the following year of no less than nine millions of ducats. "Where the means of meeting this are to come from," Philip bitterly remarks, "I do not know, unless it be from the clouds, for all usual resources are exhausted." This was a sad legacy entailed on the young monarch by his father's ambition. The document is to be found in the Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. pp. 156–165.

[4] "Dizen todos los de aquella isla que ántes se dexarán ahogar con ellos, que de poner la mano mas adelante en el reparo tan necessario de los diques." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 200.

[5] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 192.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 111.

Philip's conduct in this affair it is not very easy to explain. However much he might have desired originally to maintain the troops in the Netherlands, as an armed police on which he could rely to enforce the execution of his orders, it had become clear that the good they might do in quelling an insurrection was more than counterbalanced by the probability of their exciting one. It was characteristic of the king, however, to be slow in retreating from any position he had taken; and, as we shall often have occasion to see, there was a certain apathy or sluggishness in his nature, which led him sometimes to leave events to take their own course, rather than to shape a course for them himself.

This difficulty was no sooner settled than it was followed by another scarcely less serious. We have seen, in a former chapter, the arrangements made for adding thirteen new bishoprics to the four already existing in the Netherlands. The measure, in itself a good one and demanded by the situation of the country, was, from the posture of affairs at that time, likely to meet with opposition, if not to occasion great excitement. For this reason, the whole affair had been kept profoundly secret by the government. It was not till 1561 that Philip disclosed his views, in a letter to some of the principal nobles in the council of state. But long before that time the project had taken wind, and created a general sensation through the country.

The people looked on it as an attempt to subject them to the same ecclesiastical system which existed in Spain. The bishops, by virtue of their

office, were possessed of certain inquisitorial powers, and these were still further enlarged by the provisions of the royal edicts. Philip's attachment to the Inquisition was well understood, and there was probably not a child in the country who had not heard of the *auto de fé* which he had sanctioned by his presence on his return to his dominions. The present changes were regarded as part of a great scheme for introducing the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands.[6] However erroneous these conclusions, there is little reason to doubt they were encouraged by those who knew their fallacy.

The nobles had other reasons for opposing the measure. The bishops would occupy in the legislature the place formerly held by the abbots, who were indebted for their election to the religious houses over which they presided. The new prelates, on the contrary, would receive their nomination from the crown; and the nobles saw with alarm their own independence menaced by the accession of an order of men who would naturally be subservient to the interests of the monarch. That the crown was not insensible to these advantages is evident from a letter of the minister, in which he sneers at the abbots, as " men fit only to rule over monasteries, ever willing to thwart the king, and as perverse as the lowest of the people." [7]

[6] " Hase con industria persuadido á los pueblos que V. M. quiere poner aquí á mi instancia la inquisicion de España so color de los nuevos obispados." Granvelle to Philip, Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 554. See also Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i., passim.

[7] " Los quales, aunque pueden ser á proposito para administrar sus abadias, olvidan el beneficio recebido del principe y en las cosas de

But the greatest opposition arose from the manner in which the new dignitaries were to be maintained. This was to be done by suppressing the offices of the abbots, and by appropriating the revenues of their houses to the maintenance of the bishops. For this economical arrangement Granvelle seems to have been chiefly responsible. Thus, the income—amounting to fifty thousand ducats —of the abbey of Afflighen, one of the wealthiest in Brabant, was to be bestowed on the archiepiscopal see of Mechlin, to be held by the minister himself.[8] In virtue of that dignity, Granvelle would become primate of the Netherlands.

Loud was the clamor excited by this arrangement among the members of the religious fraternities, and all those who directly or indirectly had any interest in them. It was a manifest perversion of the funds from the objects for which they had been given to the institutions. It was interfering with the economy of these institutions, protected by the national charters; and the people of Brabant appealed to the "*Joyeuse Entrée.*" Jurists of the greatest eminence, in different parts of Europe, were consulted as to the legality of these proceedings. Thirty thousand florins were ex-

su servicio y beneficio comun de la provincia son durissimos, y tan rudes para que se les pueda persuadir la razon, como seria qualquier menor hombre del pueblo." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 18.—The intention of the crown appears more clearly from the rather frank avowal of Granvelle to the duchess of Parma, made indeed some twenty years later, 1582, that it was a great object with Philip to afford a counterpoise in the states to the authority of William and his associates. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. viii. p. 96.

[8] Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 17.

pended by Brabant alone in this matter, as well as in employing an agent at the court of Rome to exhibit the true state of the affair to his holiness and to counteract the efforts of the Spanish government.[9]

The reader may remember that just before Philip's departure from the Netherlands a bull arrived from Rome authorizing the erection of the new bishoprics. This was but the initiatory step. Many other proceedings were necessary before the consummation of the affair. Owing to impediments thrown in the way by the provinces, and the habitual tardiness of the court of Rome, nearly three years elapsed before the final briefs were expedited by Pius the Fourth. New obstacles were raised by the jealous temper of the Flemings, who regarded the whole matter as a conspiracy of the pope and the king against the liberties of the nation. Utrecht, Gueldres, and three other places refused to receive their bishops; * and they never obtained a footing there. Antwerp, which was to have been made an episcopal see, sent a commission to the king to represent the ruin this would bring on its trade, from the connection supposed to exist between the episcopal establishment and the Spanish Inquisition. For a year the king would not condescend to give any heed to the remonstrance. He finally consented to defer the decision of the

[9] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 71.

* [Utrecht was one of the original bishoprics, erected into an archbishopric under the new arrangement. Gueldres was not one of the new sees: the name is apparently a mistake for Groningen.—K.]

question till his arrival in the country; and Antwerp was saved from its bishop.[10]

In another place we find the bishop obtaining an admission through the management of Granvelle, who profited by the temporary absence of the nobles. Nowhere were the new prelates received with enthusiasm, but, on the contrary, wherever they were admitted, it was with a coldness and silence that intimated too plainly the aversion of the inhabitants. Such was the case with the archbishop of Mechlin himself, who made his entry into the capital of his diocese with not a voice to cheer or to welcome him.[11] In fact, everywhere the newly-elected prelate seemed more like the thief stealthily climbing into the fold, than the good shepherd who had come to guard it.

Meanwhile, the odium of these measures fell on the head of the minister. No other man had been so active in enforcing them, and he had the credit universally with the people of having originated the whole scheme and proposed it to the sovereign. But from this Philip expressly exonerates him in a letter to the regent, in which he says that the whole plan had been settled long before it was communicated to Granvelle.[12] Indeed, the latter,

[10] Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 612.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 263.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 51. —By another arrangement the obligations of Afflighen and the other abbeys of Brabant were commuted for the annual payment of eight thousand ducats for the support of the bishops. This agreement, as well as that with Antwerp, was afterwards set aside by the unscrupulous Alva, who fully carried out the original intentions of the crown.

[11] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 77.

[12] "En ce qui concerne les nouveaux évêchés, le Roi déclare que jamais Granvelle ne lui en conseilla l'érection; qu'il en fit même

with some show of reason, demanded whether, being already one of four bishops in the country, he should be likely to recommend a plan which would make his only one of seventeen.[13] This appeal to self-interest did not wholly satisfy those who thought that it was better to be the first of seventeen than to be merely one of four where all were equal.

Whatever may have been Granvelle's original way of thinking in the matter, it is certain that, whether it arose from his accommodating temper or from his perceptions of the advantages of the scheme being quickened by his prospect of the primacy, he soon devoted himself, heart as well as hand, to carry out the royal views. "I am convinced," he writes, in the spring of 1560, to Philip's secretary, Perez, "that no measure could be more advantageous to the country, or more necessary for the support of religion; and, if necessary to the success of the scheme, I would willingly devote to it my fortune and my life."[14]

Accordingly, we find him using all his strength to carry the project through, devising expedients for raising the episcopal revenues, and thus occupying a position which exposed him to general obloquy. He felt this bitterly, and at times, even with all his constancy, was hardly able to endure it. "Though I say nothing," he writes in the month

dans le principe un mystère au cardinal, et que celui-ci n'en eut connaissance que lorsque l'affaire était déjà bien avancée." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 207.

[13] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. viii. p. 54.

[14] "Il serait prêt à y contribuer de sa fortune, de son sang et de sa propre vie." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 189.

of September, 1561, to the Spanish ambassador in Rome, " I feel the danger of the situation in which the king has placed me. All the odium of these measures falls on my head; and I only pray that a remedy for the evil may be found, though it should be by the sacrifice of myself. Would to God the erection of these bishoprics had never been thought of! " [15]

In February, 1561, Granvelle received a cardinal's hat from Pope Pius the Fourth. He did not show the alacrity usually manifested in accepting this distinguished honor. He had obtained it by the private intercession of the duchess of Parma; and he feared lest the jealousy of Philip might be alarmed were it to any other than himself that his minister owed this distinction. But the king gave the proceeding his cordial sanction, declaring to Granvelle that the reward was no higher than his desert.

Thus clothed with the Roman purple, primate of the Netherlands, and first minister of state, Granvelle might now look down on the proudest noble in the land. He stood at the head of both the civil and the ecclesiastic administration of the country. All authority centred in his person. Indeed, such had been the organization of the council of state that the minister might be said to be not so much the head of the government as the government itself.

[15] " Veo el odio de los Estados cargar sobre mi, mas pluguiesse á Dios que con sacrificarme fuesse todo remediado. . . . Que plugiera á Dios que jamas se huviera pensado en esta ereccion destas yglesias; *amen, amen.*" Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 117.

The affairs of the council were conducted in the manner prescribed by Philip. Ordinary business passed through the hands of the whole body; but affairs of moment were reserved for the cardinal and his two coadjutors to settle with the regent. On such occasions the other ministers were not even summoned, or, if summoned, such only of the despatches from Spain as the minister chose to communicate were read, and the remainder reserved for the *consulta*. When, as did sometimes happen, the nobles carried a measure in opposition to Granvelle, he would refer the whole question to the court at Madrid.[16] By this expedient he gained time for the present, and probably obtained a decision in his favor at last. The regent conformed entirely to the cardinal's views. The best possible understanding seems to have subsisted between them, to judge from the tone of their correspondence with Philip, in which each of the parties bestows the most unqualified panegyric on the other. Yet there was a strange reserve in their official intercourse. Even when occupying the same palace, they are said to have communicated with each other by writing.[17] The reason suggested for this singular proceeding is, that it might not appear, from their being much together, that the regent was acting so entirely under the direction of the minister. It is certain that both Margaret and Granvelle had an uncommon passion for letter-writing, as is shown by the length and number of their epistles, particularly to the

[16] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 63.
[17] Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 88.

king. The cardinal especially went into a gossiping minuteness of detail to which few men in his station would have condescended. But his master, to whom his letters at this period were chiefly addressed, had the virtue of patience in an extraordinary degree, as is evinced by the faithful manner in which he perused these despatches and made notes upon them with his own hand.

The minister occupied a palace in Brussels, and had another residence at a short distance from the capital.[18] He maintained great pomp in his establishment, was attended by a large body of retainers, and his equipage and liveries were distinguished by their magnificence. He gave numerous banquets, held large *levées*, and, in short, assumed a state in his manner of living which corresponded with his station and did no violence to his natural taste. We may well believe that the great lords of the country, whose ancestors had for centuries filled its highest places, must have chafed as they saw themselves thrown into the shade by one whose fortunes had been thus suddenly forced to this unnatural height by the sunshine of royal favor. Their indignation was heightened by the tricky arrangement which, while it left them ciphers in the administration, made them responsible to the people for its measures. And if the imputation to Granvelle of arrogance, in the pride of his full-blown fortunes, was warranted, feelings of a personal nature may have mingled with those of general discontent.

But, however they may have felt, the Flemish

[18] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 52.

lords must be allowed not to have been precipitate in the demonstration of their feelings. It is not till 1562 that we observe the cardinal, in his correspondence with Spain, noticing any discourtesy in the nobles or intimating the existence of any misunderstanding with them. In the spring of the preceding year we find the prince of Orange "commending himself cordially and affectionately to the cardinal's good will," and subscribing himself, "your very good friend to command."[19] In four months after this, on the twenty-third of July, we have a letter from this "very good friend" and Count Egmont, addressed to Philip. In this epistle the writers complain bitterly of their exclusion from all business of importance in the council of state. They were only invited to take part in deliberations of no moment. This was contrary to the assurance of his majesty when they reluctantly accepted office; and it was in obedience to his commands to advise him if this should occur that they now wrote to him.[20] Nevertheless, they should have still continued to bear the indignity in silence, had they not found that they were held responsible by the people for measures in which they had no share.[21] Considering the arrangement

[19] Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 15.

[20] The nobles, it appears, had complained to Philip that they had been made to act this unworthy part in the cabinet of the duke of Savoy, when regent of the Netherlands. Granvelle, singularly enough, notices this in a letter to the Regent Mary, in 1555, treating it as a mere suspicion on their part. (See Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii., Préface, p. ix.) The course of things under the present regency may be thought to show there was good ground for this suspicion.

[21] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 195.

Philip had made for the *consulta*, one has little reason to commend his candor in this transaction, and not much to praise his policy. As he did not redress the evil, his implied disavowal of being privy to it would hardly go for anything with the injured party. In his answer, Philip thanked the nobles for their zeal in his service, and promised to reply to them more at large on the return of Count Hoorne to Flanders.[22]

There is no reason to suppose that Granvelle was ever acquainted with the fact of the letter having been written by the two lords. The privilege claimed by the novelist, who looks over the shoulders of his heroes and heroines when they are inditing their epistles, is also enjoyed by the historian. With the materials rescued from the mouldering archives of the past, he can present the reader with a more perfect view of the motives and opinions of the great actors in the drama three centuries ago, than they possessed in respect to one another. This is particularly true of the period before us, when the correspondence of the parties interested was ample in itself, and, through the care taken of it in public and private collections, has been well preserved. Such care was seldom bestowed on historical documents of this class before the sixteenth century.

It is not till long—nearly a year—after the date of the preceding letter that anything appears to intimate the existence of a coldness, much less of an open rupture, between Granvelle and the discontented nobles. Meanwhile, the religious trou-

[22] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i.

bles in France had been fast gathering to a head; and the opposite factions ranged themselves under the banners of their respective chiefs, prepared to decide the question by arms. Philip the Second, who stood forth as the champion of Catholicism, not merely in his own dominions but throughout Christendom, watched with anxiety the struggle going forward in the neighboring kingdom. It had the deeper interest for him from its influence on the Low Countries. His Italian possessions were separated from France by the Alps; his Spanish, by the Pyrenees. But no such mountain-barrier lay between France and Flanders. They were not even separated, in the border provinces, by difference of language. Every shock given to France must necessarily be felt in the remotest corner of the Netherlands. Granvelle was so well aware of this that he besought the king to keep an eye on his French neighbors and support them in the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion. "That they should be maintained in this is quite as important to us as it is to them. Many here," he adds, "would be right glad to see affairs go badly for the Catholics in that kingdom. No noble among us has as yet openly declared himself. Should any one do so, God only could save the country from the fate of France." [23]

Acting on these hints, and conformably to his

[23] "Que bien claro muestran muchos que no les pesaria de que fuessen mal, y que, si lo de allí diesse al través, bien brevemente se yria por acá el mismo camino. Y ha sido muestra dicha, que ninguno destos señores se haya declarado, que si lo hiziera alguno, otro que Dios no pudiera estorvar que lo de aqui no siguiera el camino de Francia." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 230.

own views, Philip sent orders to the regent to raise two thousand men and send them across the borders to support the French Catholics. The orders met with decided resistance in the council of state. The great Flemish lords, at this time, must have affected, if they did not feel, devotion to the established religion. But they well knew there was too large a leaven of heresy in the country to make these orders palatable. They felt no desire, moreover, thus unnecessarily to mix themselves up with the feuds of France. They represented that the troops could not safely be dispensed with in the present state of feeling at home, and that if they marched against the Protestants of France the German Protestants might be expected to march against them.

Granvelle, on the other hand, would have enforced the orders of Philip, as essential to the security of the Netherlands themselves. Margaret, thus pressed by the opposite parties, felt the embarrassment of either course. The alternative presented was that of disobeying the king, or of incurring the resentment, perhaps the resistance, of the nation. Orange and Egmont besought her to convoke the states-general, as the only safe counsellors in such an emergency. The states had often been convened on matters of less moment by the former regent, Mary of Hungary. But the cardinal had no mind to invoke the interference of that "mischievous animal, the people." [24] He had

[24] "Ce mêchant animal nommé le peuple,"—the cardinal's own words, in a letter to the king. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 290.

witnessed a convocation of the states previous to the embarkation of Philip; and he had not forgotten the independent tone then assumed by that body. It had been, indeed, the last injunction of the king to his sister on no account to call a meeting of the national legislature till his return to the country.

But while on this ground Margaret refused to summon the states-general, she called a meeting of the order of the Golden Fleece, to whom she was to apply for counsel on extraordinary occasions. The knights of the order consisted of persons of the highest consideration in the country, including the governors of the provinces. In May, 1562, they assembled at Brussels. Before meeting in public, the prince of Orange invited them to a conference in his own palace. He there laid before them the state of the country, and endeavored to concert with the members some regular system of resistance to the exclusive and arbitrary course of the minister. Although no definite action took place at that time, most of those present would seem to have fallen in with the views of the prince. There were some, however, who took opposite ground, and who declared themselves content with Granvelle and not disposed to prescribe to their sovereign the choice of his ministers. The foremost of these were the duke of Aerschot, a zealous Catholic, and Count Barlaimont, president of the council of finance, and, as we have already seen, altogether devoted to the minister. This nobleman communicated to Margaret the particulars of the meeting in the prince's palace; and the regent was

careful to give the knights of the order such incessant occupation during the remainder of their stay in the capital as to afford the prince of Orange no opportunity of pursuing his scheme of agitation.[25]

Before the assembly of the Golden Fleece had been dissolved, it was decided to send an envoy to the king, to lay before him the state of the country, both in regard to the religious excitement, much stimulated in certain quarters by the condition of France, and to the financial embarrassments, which now pressed heavily on the government. The person selected for the office was Florence de Montmorency, lord of Montigny, a cavalier who had the boldness to avow his aversion to any interference with the rights of conscience, and whose sympathies, it will be believed, were not on the side of the minister.

Soon after his departure, the vexed question of aid to France was settled in the council by commuting personal service for money. It was decided to raise a subsidy of fifty thousand crowns, to be remitted at once to the French government.[26]

Montigny reached Spain in June, 1562. He was graciously received by Philip, who, in a protracted audience, gathered from him a circumstantial account of the condition of the Netherlands. In answer to the royal queries, the envoy also exposed the misunderstanding which existed between the minister and the nobles.

But the duchess of Parma did not trust this deli-

[25] Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 145.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 202.

[26] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 210, 214.

cate affair to the representatives of Montigny. She wrote herself to her brother, in Italian, which, when she would give her own views on matters of importance, she used instead of French, ordinarily employed by the secretaries. In Italian she expressed herself with the greatest fluency, and her letters in that language, for the purpose of secrecy, were written with her own hand.

The duchess informed the king of the troubles that had arisen with the nobles; charging Orange and Egmont, especially, as the source of them. She accused them of maliciously circulating rumors that the cardinal had advised Philip to invade the country with an armed force and to cut off the heads of some five or six of the principal malecontents.[27] She paid a high tribute to the minister's loyalty and his talent for business; and she besought the king to disabuse Montigny in respect to the common idea of a design to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into the country and to do violence to its institutions.

The war was now openly proclaimed between the cardinal and the nobles. Whatever decorum might be preserved in their intercourse, there was no longer any doubt as to the hostile attitude in which they were hereafter to stand in respect to each other. In a letter written a short time previous to that of the regent, the cardinal gives a brief view of his situation to the king. The letter is written in the courageous spirit of one who does

[27] "À qui ils imputent d'avoir écrit au Roi qu'il fallait couper une demi-douzaine de têtes, et venir en force, pour conquérir le pays." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 203.

not shrink from the dangers that menace him. After an observation intimating no great confidence in the orthodoxy of the prince of Orange, he remarks, "Though the prince shows me a friendly face, when absent he is full of discontent. They have formed a league against me," he continues, "and threaten my life. But I have little fear on that score, as I think they are much too wise to attempt any such thing. They complain of my excluding them from office and endeavoring to secure an absolute authority for your majesty. All which they repeat openly at their banquets, with no good effect on the people. Yet never were there governors of the provinces who possessed so much power as they have, or who had all appointments more completely in their own hands. In truth, their great object is to reduce your majesty and the regent to the condition of mere ciphers in the government."

"They refuse to come to my table," he adds, "at which I smile. I find guests enough in the gentry of the country, the magistrates, and even the worthy burghers of the city, whose good will it is well to conciliate against a day of trouble. These evils I bear with patience, as I can. For adversity is sent by the Almighty, who will recompense those who suffer for religion and justice." The cardinal was fond of regarding himself in the light of a martyr.

He concludes this curious epistle with beseeching the king to come soon to the Netherlands,— "to come well attended, and with plenty of money; since, thus provided, he will have no lack

of troops, if required to act abroad, while his presence will serve to calm the troubled spirits at home." [28] The politic minister says nothing of the use that might be made of these troops at home. Such an intimation would justify the charges already brought against him. He might safely leave his master to make that application for himself.

In December, 1562, Montigny returned from his mission, and straightway made his report to the council of state. He enlarged on the solicitude which Philip had shown for the interests of the country. Nothing had been further from his mind than to introduce into it the Spanish Inquisition. He was only anxious to exterminate the growing heresy from the land, and called on those in authority to aid in the good work with all their strength. Finally, though pressed by want of funds, he promised, so soon as he could settle his affairs in Spain, to return to Flanders. It was not unusual for Philip to hold out the idea of his speedy return to the country. The king's gracious reception seems to have had some effect on Montigny. At all events, he placed a degree of confidence in the royal professions in which the sceptical temper of William was far from acquiescing. He intimated as much to his friend, and the latter, not relishing the part of a dupe, which the prince's language seemed to assign to him, retorted in an angry manner; and something like an altercation took place

[28] "Lo principal es que venga con dinero y crédito, que con esto no faltará gente para lo que se huviesse de hazer con los vezinos, y su presencia valdra mucho para assossegar todo lo de sus súbditos." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 562.

between the two lords, in the presence of the duchess. At least, such is the report of the historians.[29] But historians in a season of faction are not the best authorities. In the troubles before us we have usually a safer guide in the correspondence of the actors.

By Montigny despatches were also brought from Philip for the duchess of Parma. They contained suggestions as to her policy in reference to the factious nobles, whom the king recommended to her, if possible, to divide by sowing the seeds of jealousy among them.[30] Egmont was a staunch Catholic, loyal in his disposition, ambitious, and vain. It would not be difficult to detach him from his associates by a show of preference which, while it flattered his vanity, would excite in them jealousy and distrust.

In former times there had been something of these feelings betwixt Egmont and the prince of Orange. At least there had been estrangement. This might in some degree be referred to the contrast in their characters. Certainly no two characters could be more strongly contrasted with each other. Egmont, frank, fiery, impulsive in his temper, had little in common with the cool, cautious, and calculating William. The showy qualities of the former, lying on the surface, more readily

[29] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 91.—Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. ii. p. 24,—a doubtful authority, it must be admitted.

[30] "It is not true," Philip remarks, in a letter to the duchess dated July 17th, 1562, "that Granvelle ever recommended me to cut off half a dozen heads. Though," adds the monarch, "it may perhaps be well enough to have recourse to this measure." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 207.

caught the popular eye. There was a depth in William's character not easy to be fathomed,—an habitual reserve, which made it difficult even for those who knew him best always to read him right. Yet the coolness between these two nobles may have arisen less from difference of character than from similarity of position. Both, by their rank and services, took the foremost ground in public estimation, so that it was scarcely possible they should not jostle each other in the career of ambition. But, however divided formerly, they were now too closely united by the pressure of external circumstances to be separated by the subtle policy of Philip. Under the influence of a common disgust with the administration and its arbitrary measures, they continued to act in concert together, and in their union derived benefit from the very opposition of their characters. For what better augury of success than that afforded by the union of wisdom in council with boldness in execution?

The consequences of the troubles in France, as had been foreseen, were soon visible in the Low Countries. The Protestants of that time constituted a sort of federative republic, or rather a great secret association, extending through the different parts of Europe, but so closely linked together that a blow struck in one quarter instantly vibrated to every other. The Calvinists in the border provinces of the Low Countries felt, in particular, great sympathy with the movements of their French brethren. Many Hugenots took shelter among them. Others came to propagate their doctrines. Tracts in the French tongue were

distributed and read with avidity. Preachers harangued in the conventicles; and the people, by hundreds and thousands, openly assembled, and, marching in procession, chanted the Psalms of David in the translation of Marot.[31]

This open defiance of the edicts called for the immediate interposition of the government. At Tournay two Calvinist preachers were arrested, and, after a regular trial, condemned and burned at the stake. In Valenciennes two others were seized, in like manner, tried, and sentenced to the same terrible punishment. But as the marquis of Bergen, the governor of the province, had left the place on a visit to a distant quarter, the execution was postponed till his return. Seven months thus passed, when the regent wrote to the marquis, remonstrating on his unseasonable absence from his post. He had the spirit to answer that "it neither suited his station nor his character to play the part of an executioner."[32] The marquis of Bergen had early ranged himself on the side of the prince of Orange, and he is repeatedly noticed by Granvelle, in his letters, as the most active of the malecontents. It may well be believed he was no friend to the system of persecution pursued by the government. Urged by Granvelle, the magistrates of the city at length assumed the office of conducting the execution themselves. On the day appointed, the two martyrs were escorted to the

[31] Strada, De Bello Belgico, pp. 78, 79, 133, 134.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 31, 32.

[32] "Qu'il n'étoit ni de son caractère ni de son honneur d'être le Bourreau des Hérétiques." Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. i. p. 304.

stake. The funeral pile was prepared, and the torch was about to be applied, when, at a signal from one of the prisoners, the multitude around broke in upon the place of execution, trampled down the guards and officers of justice, scattered the fagots collected for the sacrifice, and liberated the victims. Then, throwing themselves into a procession, they paraded the streets of the city, singing their psalms and Calvinistic hymns.

Meanwhile the officers of justice succeeded in again arresting the unfortunate men and carrying them back to prison. But it was not long before their friends, assembling in greater numbers than before, stormed the fortress, forced the gates, and, rescuing the prisoners, carried them off in triumph.

These high-handed measures caused, as may be supposed, great indignation at the court of the regent. She instantly ordered a levy of three thousand troops, and, placing them under the marquis of Bergen, sent them against the insurgents. The force was such as to overcome all resistance. Arrests were made in great numbers, and the majesty of the law was vindicated by the trial and punishment of the ringleaders.[33]

"Rigorous and severe measures," wrote Philip, "are the only ones to be employed in matters of religion. It is by fear only that the rabble"—meaning by this the Reformers—"can be made to do their duty, and not always then."[34] This liberal

[33] Strada, De Bello Belgico, pp. 136, 137.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. pp. 137, 138.

[34] "En las [cosas] de la religion no se çufre temporizar, sino castigarlas con todo rigor y severidad, que estos villacos sino es por miedo

sentiment found less favor in the Low Countries than in Spain. "One must ponder well," writes the cardinal to Perez, the royal secretary, "before issuing those absolute decrees, which are by no means as implicitly received here as they are in Italy."[35] The Fleming appealed to his laws, and, with all the minister's zeal, it was found impossible to move forward at the fiery pace of the Spanish Inquisition.

"It would raise a tumult at once," he writes, "should we venture to arrest a man without the clearest evidence. No man can be proceeded against without legal proof."[36] But an insurmountable obstacle in the way of enforcing the cruel edicts lay in the feelings of the nation. No law repugnant to such feelings can long be executed. "I accuse none of the nobles of being heretics," writes the regent to her brother; "but they show little zeal in the cause of religion, while the magistrates shrink from their duty from fear of the people."[37] "How absurd is it," exclaims Granvelle, "for depositions to be taken before the Inquisition in Spain, in order to search out heretics in Antwerp, where thousands are every day walking about whom no one meddles with!"[38] "It is more than a year," he says, "since a single arrest

no hazen cosa buena, y aun con él, no todas vezes." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 421.

[35] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 207.

[36] Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vi. p. 280.

[37] "Quoiqu'elle ne puisse dire qu'aucun des seigneurs ne soit pas bon catholique, elle ne voit pourtant pas qu'ils procèdent, dans les matières religieuses, avec toute la chaleur qui serait nécessaire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 240.

[38] Ibid., p. 202.

on a charge of heresy has taken place in that city."[39] Yet, whatever may have been the state of persecution at the present time, the vague dread of the future must have taken strong hold of people's minds, if, as a contemporary writes, there were no less than eighteen or twenty thousand refugees then in England who had fled from Flanders for the sake of their religion.[40]

The odium of this persecution all fell on the head of Granvelle. He was the tool of Spain. Spain was under the yoke of the Inquisition. Therefore it was clearly the minister's design to establish the Spanish Inquisition over the Netherlands. Such was the concise logic by which the people connected the name of Granvelle with that of the most dreaded of tribunals.[41] He was held responsible for the contrivance of the most unpopular measures of government, as well as for their execution. A thousand extravagant stories were circulated both of his private and his political life, which it is probably doing no injustice to the nobles to suppose they did not take much pains to correct. The favorite of the prince is rarely the favorite of the people. But no minister had ever been so unpopular as Granvelle in the Netherlands. He

[39] Correspondance de Philippe II., ubi supra.

[40] "C'est une grande confusion de la multitude des nostres qui sont icy fuis pour la religion. On les estime en Londres, Sandvich, et comarque adjacente, de xviij à xx mille testes." Letter of Assonleville to Granvelle, Ibid., p. 247.

[41] "Et qu'aussy ne se feroit rien par le Cardinal sans l'accord des Seigneurs et inquisiteurs d'Espaigne, dont necessairement s'ensuyvroit, que tout se mettroit en la puissance et arbitrage d'iceulx Seigneurs inquisiteurs d'Espaigne." Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 24.

was hated by the nobles for his sudden elevation to power, and for the servile means, as they thought, by which he had risen to it. The people hated him because he used that power for the ruin of their liberties. No administration—none, certainly, if we except that of the iron Alva—was more odious to the nation.

Notwithstanding Granvelle's constancy, and the countenance he received from the regent and a few of the leading councillors, it was hard to bear up under this load of obloquy. He would gladly have had the king return to the country and sustain him by his presence. It is the burden of his correspondence at this period. "It is a common notion here," he writes to the secretary Perez, "that they are all ready in Spain to sacrifice the Low Countries. The lords talk so freely that every moment I fear an insurrection. . . . For God's sake, persuade the king to come, or it will lie heavy on his conscience." [42] The minister complains to the secretary that he seems to be entirely abandoned by the government at home. "It is three months," he writes, "since I have received a letter from the court. We know as little of Spain here as of the Indies. Such delays are dangerous, and may cost the king dear." [43] It is clear his majesty exercised his royal prerogative of having the correspondence

[42] "Que, pour l'amour de Dieu, le Roi se dispose à venir aux Pays-Bas! . . . ce serait une grande charge pour sa conscience, que de ne le pas faire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 213.

[43] "Des choses de cette cour nous ne savons pas plus que ceux qui sont aux Indes. . . . Le délai que le Roi met à répondre aux lettres qu'on lui adresse cause un grand préjudice aux affaires; il pourra coûter cher un jour." Ibid., p. 199.

all on one side. At least his own share in it at this period was small, and his letters were concise indeed in comparison with the voluminous epistles of his minister. Perhaps there was some policy in this silence of the monarch. His opinions, nay, his wishes, would have, to some extent, the weight of laws. He would not, therefore, willingly commit himself. He preferred to conform to his natural tendency to trust to the course of events, instead of disturbing them by too precipitate action. The cognomen by which Philip is recognized on the roll of Castilian princes is " the Prudent."

CHAPTER VII

GRANVELLE COMPELLED TO WITHDRAW

League against Granvelle—Margaret desires his Removal—Philip deliberates—Granvelle dismissed—Leaves the Netherlands

1562–1564

WHILE the state of feeling towards Granvelle, in the nation generally, was such as is described in the preceding chapter, the lords who were in the council of state chafed more and more under their exclusion from business. As the mask was now thrown away, they no longer maintained the show of deference which they had hitherto paid to the minister. From opposition to his measures, they passed to irony, ridicule, sarcasm; till, finding that their assaults had little effect to disturb Granvelle's temper and still less to change his policy, they grew at length less and less frequent in their attendance at the council, where they played so insignificant a part. This was a sore embarrassment to the regent, who needed the countenance of the great nobles to protect her with the nation, in the unpopular measures in which she was involved.

Even Granvelle, with all his equanimity, considered the crisis so grave as to demand some concession, or at least a show of it, on his own part, to conciliate the good will of his enemies. He author-

ized the duchess to say that he was perfectly willing that they should be summoned to the *consulta*, and to absent himself from its meetings,—indeed, to resign the administration altogether, provided the king approved of it.[1] Whether Margaret communicated this to the nobles does not appear; at all events, as nothing came of these magnanimous concessions of the minister, they had no power to soothe the irritation of his enemies.[2]

On the contrary, the disaffected lords were bending their efforts to consolidate their league, of which Granvelle, it may be recollected, noticed the existence in a letter of the preceding year. We now find the members binding themselves to each other by an oath of secrecy.[3] The persons who formed this confederacy were the governors of the provinces, the knights of the Golden Fleece, and, in short, most of the aristocracy of any consideration in the country. It seemed impossible that any minister could stand against such a coalition, resting, moreover, on the sympathies of the people. This formidable association, seeing that all at-

[1] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 236, 242.

[2] Philip's answer to the letter of the duchess in which she stated Granvelle's proposal was eminently characteristic. If Margaret could not do better, she might enter into negotiations with the malecontents on the subject; but she should take care to delay sending advices of it to Spain; and the king, on his part, would delay as long as possible returning his answers. For the measure, Philip concludes, is equally repugnant to justice and to the interests of the crown. (Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 237.) This was the royal policy of procrastination!

[3] "Conclusero una lega contra 'l Cardenal p' detto á diffesa commune contra chi volesse offendere alcun di loro, laqual confortorono con solenniss° giuramento, ne si curarono che se non li particolari fossero secreti per all' hora; ma publicorono questa loro unione, et questa lega fatta contra il Card^le." Relatione di Tiepolo, MS.

tempts to work on the cardinal were ineffectual, resolved at length to apply directly to the king for his removal. They stated that, knowing the heavy cares which pressed on his majesty, they had long dissembled and kept silence, rather than aggravate these cares by their complaints. If they now broke silence, it was from a sense of duty to the king, and to save their country from ruin. They enlarged on the lamentable condition of affairs, which, without specifying any particular charges, they imputed altogether to the cardinal, or rather to the position in which he stood in reference to the nation. It was impossible, they said, that the business of the country could prosper, where the minister who directed it was held in such general detestation by the people. They earnestly implored the king to take immediate measures for removing an evil which menaced the speedy ruin of the land. And they concluded with begging that they might be allowed to resign their seats in the council of state, where, in the existing state of affairs, their presence could be of no service. This letter, dated the eleventh of March, 1563, was signed, on behalf of the coalition, by three lords who had places in the council of state,—the prince of Orange, Count Egmont, and Count Hoorne.[4]

The last nobleman was of an ancient and most honorable lineage. He held the high office of admiral of the Netherlands, and had been governor both of Zutphen and Gueldres. He accompanied Philip to Spain, and during his absence the province of Gueldres was transferred to another,

[4] Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. pp. 36–38.

Count Megen, for which Hoorne considered that he was indebted to the good offices of the cardinal. On his return to his own country he at once enrolled himself in the ranks of the opposition. He was a man of indisputable bravery, of a quick and impatient temper,—one, on the whole, who seems to have been less indebted for his celebrity to his character than to the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed.

On the day previous to this despatch of the nobles we find a letter to the king from Granvelle, who does not seem to have been ignorant of what was doing by the lords. He had expostulated with them, he tells Philip, on the disloyalty of their conduct in thus banding against the government,—a proceeding which in other times might have subjected them to a legal prosecution.[5] He mentions no one by name except Egmont, whom he commends as more tractable and open to reason than his confederates. He was led away by evil counsellors, and Granvelle expresses the hope that he will one day open his eyes to his errors and return to his allegiance.

It is difficult to conceive the detestation, he goes on to say, in which the Spaniards are held by the nation. The Spaniards only, it was everywhere said, were regarded by the court of Madrid as the lawful children; the Flemings, as illegitimate.[6] It was necessary to do away this impression; to place

[5] "Que en otros tiempos por menor causa se havia mandado a Fiscales proceder." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 151.

[6] "Que solos los de España sean legitimos, que son las palabras de que aqui y en Italia se usa." Ibid., p. 153.

the Flemings on the same footing with the Spaniards; to give them lucrative appointments, for they greatly needed them, in Spain or in Italy; and it might not be amiss to bestow the viceroyalty of Sicily on the prince of Orange. Thus by the same act the politic minister would both reward his rivals and remove them from the country. But he greatly misunderstood the character of William if he thought in this way to buy him off from the opposition.

It was four months before the confederates received an answer; during which time affairs continued to wear the same gloomy aspect as before. At length came the long-expected epistle from the monarch, dated on the sixth of June. It was a brief one. Philip thanked the lords for their zeal and devotion to his service. After well considering the matter, however, he had not found any specific ground of complaint alleged, to account for the advice given him to part with his minister. The king hoped before long to visit the Low Countries in person. Meanwhile, he should be glad to see any one of the nobles in Spain, to learn from him the whole state of the affair, as it was not his wont to condemn his ministers without knowing the grounds on which they were accused.[7]

The fact that the lords had not specified any particular subject of complaint against the cardinal gave the king an obvious advantage in the correspondence. It seemed to be too much to

[7] "Car ce n'est ma coustume de grever aucuns de mes ministres sans cause." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 42.

expect his immediate dismissal of the minister on the vague pretext of his unpopularity, without a single instance of misconduct being alleged against him. Yet this was the position in which the enemies of Granvelle necessarily found themselves. The minister acted by the orders of the king. To have assailed the minister's acts, therefore, would have been to attack the king himself. Egmont, some time after this, with even more frankness than usual, is said to have declared at table to a friend of the cardinal that "the blow was aimed not so much at the minister as at the monarch."[8]

The discontent of the lords at receiving this laconic epistle may be imagined. They were indignant that so little account should be made of their representations, and that both they and the country should be sacrificed to the king's partiality for his minister. The three lords waited on the regent, and extorted from her a reluctant consent to assemble the knights of the order and to confer with them and the other nobles as to the course to be taken.

It was there decided that the lords should address a second letter, in the name of the whole body, to Philip, and henceforth should cease to attend the council of state.[9]

[8] "S'estant le comte d'Egmont advanché aujourd'huy huict jours *post pocula* dire à Hoppérus, avec lequel il fut bien deux heures en devises, que ce n'estoit point à Granvelle que l'on en vouloit, mais au Roy, qui administre très-mal le public et mesmes ce de la Religion, comme l'on luy at assez adverty." Morillon, Archdeacon of Mechlin, to Granvelle, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 247.

[9] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 256, 258, 259.

In this letter, which bears the date of July the twenty-ninth, they express their disappointment that his majesty had not come to a more definite resolution, when prompt and decisive measures could alone save the country from ruin. They excuse themselves from visiting Spain in the critical state of affairs at home. At another time, and for any other purpose, did the king desire it, they would willingly do so. But it was not their design to appear as accusers and institute a process against the minister. They had hoped their own word in such an affair would have sufficed with his majesty. It was not the question whether the minister was to be condemned, but whether he was to be removed from an office for which he was in no respect qualified.[10] They had hoped their attachment and tried fidelity to the crown would have made it superfluous for them to go into a specification of charges. These, indeed, could be easily made; but the discontent and disorder which now reigned throughout the country were sufficient evidence of the minister's incapacity.[11]

They stated that they had acquainted the regent with their intention to absent themselves in future from the council, where their presence could be no longer useful; and they trusted this would receive

[10] "Il n'est pas icy question de grever ledict cardinal, ains plustost de le descharger, voire d'une charge laquelle non-seulement lui est peu convenable et comme extraordinaire, mais aussi ne peult plus estre en ses mains, sans grand dangier d'inconvéniens et troubles." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 45.

[11] "Quant il n'y auroit que le désordre, mescontentement et confusion qui se trouve aujourd'huy en vos pays de par deçà, ce seroit assez tesmoinage de combien peu sert icy sa présence, crédit et auctorité." Ibid., p. 46.

his majesty's sanction. They expressed their determination loyally and truly to discharge every trust reposed in them by the government; and they concluded by apologizing for the homely language of their epistle,—for they were no haranguers or orators, but men accustomed to act rather than to talk, as was suited to persons of their quality.[12] This last shaft was doubtless aimed at the cardinal. The letter was signed by the same triumvirate as the former. The abstract here given does no justice to the document, which is of considerable length, and carefully written. The language is that of men who to the habitual exercise of authority united a feeling of self-respect, which challenged the respect of their opponents. Such were not the men to be cajoled or easily intimidated. It was the first time that Philip had been addressed in this lofty tone by his great vassals. It should have opened his eyes to the condition and the character of his subjects in the Netherlands.

The coalition drew up, at the same time, an elaborate "remonstrance," which they presented to Margaret. In it they set forth the various disorders of the country, especially those growing out of the state of religion and the embarrassment of the finances. The only remedy for these evils is to be found in a meeting of the states-general. The king's prohibition of this measure must have proceeded, no doubt, from the evil counsels of persons hostile to the true interests of the nation. As their

[12] "Que ne sommes point de nature grans orateurs ou harangueurs, et plus accoustumez à bien faire qu'à bien dire, comme aussy il est mieulx séant à gens de nostre qualité." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 47.

services can be of little use while they are thus debarred from a resort to their true and only remedy in their embarrassments, they trust the regent will not take it amiss that, so long as the present policy is pursued, they decline to take their seats in the council of state, to be merely shadows there, as they have been for the last four years.[13]

From this period the malecontent lords no more appeared in council. The perplexity of Margaret was great. Thus abandoned by the nobles in whom the country had the greatest confidence, she was left alone, as it were, with the man whom the country held in the greatest abhorrence. She had long seen with alarm the storm gathering round the devoted head of the minister. To attempt alone to uphold his falling fortunes would be probably to bury herself in their ruins. In her extremity, she appealed to the confederates, and, since she could not divide them, endeavored to divert them from their opposition. They, on the other hand, besought the regent no longer to connect herself with the desperate cause of a minister so odious to the country. Possibly they infused into her mind some suspicions of the subordinate part she was made to play, through the overweening ambition of the cardinal. At all events, an obvious change took place in her conduct, and while she deferred less and less to Granvelle, she entered into more friendly relations with his enemies. This was especially the case with Egmont, whose frank and

[13] "Faisans cesser l'umbre dont avons servy en iceluy quatre ans." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 50.

courteous bearing and loyal disposition seem to have won greatly on the esteem of the duchess.

Satisfied, at last, that it would be impracticable to maintain the government much longer on its present basis, Margaret resolved to write to her brother on the subject, and at the same time to send her confidential secretary, Armenteros, to Spain, to acquaint the king with the precise state of affairs in the Netherlands.[14]

After enlarging on the disorders and difficulties of the country, the duchess came to the quarrel between the cardinal and the nobles. She had made every effort to reconcile the parties; but that was impossible. She was fully sensible of the merits of Granvelle, his high capacity, his experience in public affairs, his devotion to the interests both of the king and of religion.[15] But, on the other hand, to maintain him in the Netherlands, in opposition to the will of the nobles, was to expose the country not merely to great embarrassments, but to the danger of insurrection.[16] The obligations of the high place which she occupied compelled her to lay the true state of the case before the king, and he would determine the course to be pursued. With this letter, bearing the date of August twelfth, and fortified with ample instruc-

[14] Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. ii. p. 39, et seq.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 256.

[15] "Elle connait tout le mérite du cardinal, sa haute capacité, son expérience des affaires d'État, le zèle et le dévouement qu'il montre pour le service de Dieu et du Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 266.

[16] "D'un autre côté, elle reconnaît que vouloir le maintenir aux Pays-Bas, contre le gré des seigneurs, pourrait entraîner de grands inconvénients, et même le soulèvement du pays." Ibid., ubi supra.

tions from the duchess, Armenteros was forthwith despatched on his mission to Spain.

It was not long before the state of feeling in the cabinet of Brussels was known, or at least surmised, throughout the country. It was the interest of some of the parties that it should not be kept secret. The cardinal, thus abandoned by his friends, became a more conspicuous mark for the shafts of his enemies. Libels, satires, pasquinades, were launched against him from every quarter. Such fugitive pieces, like the insect which dies when it has left its sting, usually perish with the occasion that gives them birth. But some have survived to the present day, or at least were in existence at the close of the last century, and are much commended by a critic for the merits of their literary execution.[17]

It was the custom, at the period of our narrative, for the young people to meet in the towns and villages and celebrate what were called "academic games," consisting of rhetorical discussions on the various topics of the day, sometimes of a theological or a political character. Public affairs furnished a fruitful theme at this crisis; and the cardinal, in particular, was often roughly handled. It was in vain the government tried to curb this license. It only served to stimulate the disputants to new displays of raillery and ridicule.[18]

Granvelle, it will be readily believed, was not slow to perceive his loss of credit with the regent,

[17] Reiffenberg, Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 26, note.

[18] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 58.

and the more intimate relations into which she had entered with his enemies. But, whatever he may have felt, he was too proud or too politic to betray his mortification to the duchess. Thus discredited by all but an insignificant party, who were branded as the "Cardinalists," losing influence daily with the regent, at open war with the nobles, and hated by the people, never was there a minister in so forlorn a situation, or one who was able to maintain his post a day in such circumstances. Yet Granvelle did not lose heart; as others failed him, he relied the more on himself; and the courage which he displayed, when thus left alone, as it were, to face the anger of the nation, might have well commanded the respect of his enemies. He made no mean concession to secure the support of the nobles or to recover the favor of the regent. He did not shrink from the dangers or the responsibilities of his station; though the latter, at least, bore heavily on him. Speaking of the incessant pressure of his cares, he writes to his correspondent, Perez, "My hairs have turned so white you would not recognize me." [19] He was then but forty-six. On one occasion, indeed, we do find him telling the king that "if his majesty does not soon come to the Netherlands he must withdraw from them." [20] This seems to have been a sudden burst of feeling, as it was a solitary one, forced from him by the extremity of his situation. It was much more in character that he wrote afterwards to the secretary

[19] "Vous ne me reconnaîtriez plus, tant mes cheveux ont blanchi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 268.

[20] Ibid., p. 274.

Perez, "I am so beset with dangers on every side that most people give me up for lost. But I mean to live as long, by the grace of God, as I can; and if they do take away my life, I trust they will not gain everything for all that." [21] He nowhere intimates a wish to be recalled. Nor would his ambition allow him to resign the helm; but the fiercer the tempest raged, the more closely did he cling to the wreck of his fortunes.

The arrival of Armenteros with the despatches, and the tidings that he brought, caused a great sensation in the court of Madrid. "We are on the eve of a terrible conflagration," writes one of the secretaries of Philip; "and they greatly err who think it will pass away as formerly." He expresses the wish that Granvelle would retire from the country, where, he predicts, they would soon wish his return. "But ambition," he adds, "and the point of honor, are alike opposed to this. Nor does the king desire it." [22]

Yet it was not easy to say what the king did desire,—certainly not what course he would pursue. He felt a natural reluctance to abandon the minister whose greatest error seemed to be that of too implicit an obedience to his master's commands. He declared he would rather risk the loss of the Netherlands than abandon him.[23] Yet how was

[21] "Moi, qui ne suis qu'un ver de terre, je suis menacé de tant de côtés, que beaucoup doivent me tenir déjà pour mort; mais je tâcherai, avec l'aide de Dieu, de vivre autant que possible, et si l'on me tue, j'espère qu'on n'aura pas gagné tout par là." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 284.

[22] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 190.

[23] "Hablándole yo en ello," writes the secretary Perez to Granvelle, "como era razon, me respondió que por su fee ántes aventu-

that minister to be maintained in his place, in opposition to the will of the nation? In this perplexity, Philip applied for counsel to the man in whom he most confided,—the duke of Alva; the very worst counsellor possible in the present emergency.

The duke's answer was eminently characteristic of the man. "When I read the letters of these lords," he says, "I am so filled with rage that, did I not make an effort to suppress it, my language would appear to you that of a madman." [24] After this temperate exordium, he recommends the king on no account to remove Granvelle from the administration of the Netherlands. "It is a thing of course," he says, "that the cardinal should be the first victim. A rebellion against the prince naturally begins with an attack on his ministers. It would be better," he continues, "if all could be brought at once to summary justice. Since that cannot be, it may be best to divide the nobles; to win over Egmont and those who follow him by favors; to show displeasure to those who are the least offenders. For the greater ones, who deserve to lose their heads, your majesty will do well to dissemble, until you can give them their deserts." [25]

Part of this advice the king accepted; for to dissemble did no violence to his nature. But the

raria á perder essos estados que hazer esse agravio á V. S. en lo qual conoscerá la gran voluntad que le tiene." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vii. p. 102.

[24] "Cada vez que veo los despachos de aquellos tres señores de Flandes me mueven la colera de manera que, sino procurasse mucho templarla, creo parecia á V. Mag^d mi opinion de hombre frenetico." Carta del Duque de Alba al Rey, á 21 de Octobre de 1563, MS.

[25] "À los que destos meriten quitenles las caveças, hasta poder lo hacer, dissimular con ellos." Ibid.

more he reflected on the matter, the more he was satisfied that it would be impossible to retain the obnoxious minister in his place. Yet when he had come to this decision he still shrank from announcing it. Months passed, and yet Armenteros, who was to carry back the royal despatches, was still detained at Madrid. It seemed as if Philip here, as on other occasions of less moment, was prepared to leave events to take their own course, rather than direct them himself.

Early in January, 1564, the duchess of Parma admonished her brother that the lords chafed much under his long silence. It was a common opinion, she said, that he cared little for Flanders, and that he was under the influence of evil counsellors, who would persuade him to deal with the country as a conquered province. She besought him to answer the letter of the nobles, and especially to write in affectionate terms to Count Egmont, who well deserved this for the zeal he had always shown for his sovereign's interests.[26]

One is struck with the tone in which the regent here speaks of one of the leaders of the opposition, so little in unison with her former language. It shows how completely she was now under their influence. In truth, however, we see constantly, both in her letters and those of the cardinal, a more friendly tone of feeling towards Egmont than to either of his associates. On the score of orthodoxy

[26] "Comme je l'ai toujours trouvé plein d'empressement et de zèle pour tout ce qui touche le service de V. M. et l'avantage du pays, je supplie V. M. de faire au comte d'Egmont une réponse affectueuse, afin qu'il ne désespère pas de sa bonté." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 281.

in matters of religion he was unimpeachable. His cordial manners, his free and genial temper, secured the sympathy of all with whom he came in contact. It was a common opinion that it would not be difficult to detach him from the party of malecontents with whom his lot was cast. Such were not the notions entertained of the prince of Orange.

In a letter from Granvelle to Philip, without a date, but written perhaps about this period,[27] we have portraits, or rather outlines, of the two great leaders of the opposition, touched with a masterly hand. Egmont he describes as firm in his faith, loyally disposed, but under the evil influence of William. It would not be difficult to win him over by flattery and favors.[28] The prince, on the other hand, is a cunning and dangerous enemy, of profound views, boundless ambition, difficult to change, and impossible to control.[29] In the latter character we see the true leader of the revolution.

Disgusted with the indifference of the king, shown in his long-protracted silence, the nobles, notwithstanding the regent's remonstrances, sent

[27] The letter—found among the MSS. at Besançon—is given by Dom Prosper Levesque in his life of the cardinal. (Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. ii. p. 52.) The worthy Benedictine assures us, in his preface, that he has always given the text of Granvelle's correspondence exactly as he found it; an assurance to which few will give implicit credit who have read this letter, which bears the marks of the reviser's hand in every sentence.

[28] Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. ii. p. 55.

[29] "Le prince d'Orange est un homme dangereux, fin, rusé, affectant de soutenir le peuple. . . . Je pense qu'un pareil génie qui a des vues profondes est fort difficile à ménager, et qu'il n'est guères possible de le faire changer." Ibid., pp. 53, 54.

orders to their courier, who had been waiting in Madrid for the royal despatches, to wait no longer, but return without them to the Netherlands.[30] Fortunately, Philip now moved, and at the close of January, 1564, sent back Armenteros with his instructions to Brussels. The most important of them was a letter of dismissal to the cardinal himself. It was very short. "On considering what you write," said the king, "I deem it best that you should leave the Low Countries for some days, and go to Burgundy to see your mother, with the consent of the duchess of Parma. In this way, both my authority and your own reputation will be preserved." [31]

It has been a matter of dispute how far the resignation of the cardinal was voluntary. The recent discovery of this letter of Philip determines that question.[32] It was by command of the sovereign.

[30] "Causant l'autre jour avec elle, le comte d'Egmont lui montra un grand mécontentement de ce que le Roi n'avait daigné faire un seul mot de réponse ni à lui, ni aux autres. Il dit que, voyant cela, ils étaient décidés à ordonner à leur courrier qu'il revînt, sans attendre davantage." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 283.

[31] "Il a pensé, d'après ce que le cardinal lui a écrit, qu'il serait très à propos qu'il allât voir sa mère, avec la permission de la duchesse de Parme. De cette manière, l'autorité du Roi et la réputation du cardinal seront sauvés." Ibid., p. 285.

[32] That indefatigable laborer in the mine of MSS., M. Gachard, obtained some clue to the existence of such a letter in the Archives of Simancas. For two months it eluded his researches, when in a happy hour he stumbled on this pearl of price. The reader may share the enthusiasm of the Belgian scholar: "Je redoublai d'attention; et enfin, après deux mois de travail, je découvris, sur un petit chiffon de papier, la minute de la fameuse lettre dont faisait mention la duchesse de Parme: elle avait été classée, par une méprise de je ne sais quel official, avec les papiers de l'année 1562. On lisait en tête: *De mano del Rey; secreta.* Vous comprendrez, monsieur le Ministre, la joie que me fit éprouver cette découverte; ce sont là des jouissances qui dédommagent de bien des fatigues,

Yet that command was extorted by necessity, and so given as best to save the feelings and the credit of the minister. Neither party anticipated that Granvelle's absence would continue for a long time, much less that his dismissal was final. Even when inditing the letter to the cardinal, Philip cherished the hope that the necessity for his departure might be avoided altogether. This appears from the despatches sent at the same time to the regent.

Shortly after his note to Granvelle, on the nineteenth of February, Philip wrote an answer to the lords in all the tone of offended majesty. He expressed his astonishment that they should have been led by any motive whatever to vacate their seats at the council, where he had placed them.[33] They would not fail to return there at once, and show that they preferred the public weal to all private considerations.[34] As for the removal of the minister, since they had not been pleased to specify any charges against him, the king would deliberate further before deciding on the matter. Thus, three weeks after Philip had given the cardinal his dismissal, did he write to his enemies as if the matter

de bien des ennuis!" Rapport à M. le Ministre de l'Intérieur, Ibid., p. clxxxv.*

[33] "M'esbayz bien que, pour chose quelconque, vous ayez délaissé d'entrer au conseil où je vous avois laissé." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 67.

[34] "Ne faillez d'y rentrer, et monstrer de combien vous estimez plus mon service et le bien de mes pays de delà, que autre particularité quelconque." Ibid., p. 68.

* [Philip's letter, of which only the "minute" is cited by Prescott, has been printed in the twelfth volume of the "Bulletins" of the Academy of Brussels.—K.]

were still in abeyance; hoping, it would seem, by the haughty tone of authority, to rebuke the spirit of the refractory nobles and intimidate them into a compliance with his commands. Should this policy succeed, the cardinal might still hold the helm of government.[35]

But Philip had not yet learned that he was dealing with men who had little of that spirit of subserviency to which he was accustomed in his Castilian vassals. The peremptory tone of his letter fired the blood of the Flemish lords, who at once waited on the regent and announced their purpose not to re-enter the council. The affair was not likely to end here; and Margaret saw with alarm the commotion that would be raised when the letter of the king should be laid before the whole body of the nobles.[36] Fearing some rash step, difficult to be retrieved, she resolved either that the cardinal should announce his intended departure or that she would do so for him. Philip's experiment had failed. Nothing, therefore, remained but for the

[35] Abundant evidence of Philip's intentions is afforded by his despatches to Margaret, together with two letters which they enclosed to Egmont. These letters were of directly opposite tenor; one dispensing with Egmont's presence at Madrid,—which had been talked of,—the other inviting him there. Margaret was to give the one which, under the circumstances, she thought expedient. The duchess was greatly distressed by her brother's manœuvring. She saw that the course she must pursue was not the course which he would prefer. Philip did not understand her countrymen so well as she did.

[36] "En effet, le prince d'Orange et le comte d'Egmont, les seuls qui se trouvassent à Bruxelles, montrèrent tant de tristesse et de mécontentement de la courte et sèche réponse du Roi, qu'il était à craindre qu'après qu'elle aurait été communiquée aux autres seigneurs, il ne fût pris quelque résolution contraire au service du Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 294.

minister publicly to declare that, as his brother, the late envoy to France, had returned to Brussels, he had obtained permission from the regent to accompany him on a visit to their aged mother, whom Granvelle had not seen for fourteen years.[37]

The news of the minister's resignation and speedy departure spread like wildfire over the country. The joy was universal; and the wits of the time redoubled their activity, assailing the fallen minister with libels, lampoons, and caricatures, without end. One of these caricatures, thrust into his own hand under the pretence of its being a petition, represented him as hatching a brood of young bishops, who were crawling out of their shells. Hovering above might be seen the figure of the Devil; while these words were profanely made to issue from his mouth: "This is my son; hear ye him!"[38]

[37] "Con la venida de Mons. de Chantonnay, mi hermano, a Bruxelles, y su determinacion de encaminarse á estas partes, me paresció tomar color de venir hazia acá, donde no havia estado en 19 años, y ver á madama de Granvella, mi madre, que ha 14 que no la havia visto." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 298.—Granvelle seems to have fondly trusted that no one but Margaret was privy to the existence of the royal letter,—"secret, and written with the king's own hand." So he speaks of his departure in his various letters as a spontaneous movement to see his venerable parent. The secretary Perez must have smiled as he read one of these letters to himself, since an abstract of the royal despatch appears in his own handwriting. The Flemish nobles also—probably through the regent's secretary, Armenteros—appear to have been possessed of the true state of the case. It was too good a thing to be kept secret.

[38] Schiller, Abfall der Niederlande, p. 147.—Among other freaks was that of a masquerade, at which a devil was seen pursuing a cardinal with a scourge of foxes' tails: "Deinde sequebatur diabolus, equum dicti cardinalis caudis vulpinis fustigans, magna cum totius populi admiratione et scandalo." (Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. viii. p. 77.) The fox's tail was a punning allusion to Renard, who took a most active and venomous part in the paper war that opened

It was at this time that, at a banquet at which many of the Flemish nobles were present, the talk fell on the expensive habits of the aristocracy, especially as shown in the number and dress of their domestics. It was the custom for them to wear showy and very costly liveries, intimating by the colors the family to which they belonged. Granvelle had set an example of this kind of ostentation. It was proposed to regulate their apparel by a more modest and uniform standard. The lot fell on Egmont to devise some suitable livery, of the simple kind used by the Germans. He proposed a dark-gray habit, which, instead of the *aiguillettes* commonly suspended from the shoulders, should have flat pieces of cloth, embroidered with the figure of a head and a fool's cap. The head was made marvellously like that of the cardinal, and the cap, being red, was thought to bear much resemblance to a cardinal's hat. This was enough. The dress was received with acclamation. The nobles instantly clad their retainers in the new livery, which had the advantage of greater economy. It became the badge of party. The tailors of Brussels could not find time to supply their customers. Instead of being confined to Granvelle, the heads occasionally bore the features of Aerschot, Aremberg, or Viglius, the cardinal's friends. The duchess at first laughed at the jest, and even sent some specimens of the embroidery to Philip. But Granvelle looked more gravely on

the revolution. Renard, it may be remembered, was the imperial minister to England in Queen Mary's time. He was the implacable enemy of Granvelle, who had once been his benefactor.

the matter, declaring it an insult to the government, and the king interfered to have the device given up. This was not easy, from the extent to which it had been adopted. But Margaret at length succeeded in persuading the lords to take another, not personal in its nature. The substitute was a sheaf of arrows. Even this was found to have an offensive application, as it intimated the league of the nobles. It was the origin, it is said, of the device afterwards assumed by the Seven United Provinces.[39]

On the thirteenth of March, 1564, Granvelle quitted Brussels,—never to return.[40] "The joy of the nobles at his departure," writes one of the privy council, "was excessive. They seemed like boys let loose from school."[41] The three lords, members of the council of state, in a note to the duchess, declared that they were ready to resume

[39] Strada, De Bello Belgico, pp. 161–164.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum Belgicorum, p. 166.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 53.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 294, 295.

[40] The date is given by the prince of Orange in a letter to the landgrave of Hesse, written a fortnight after the cardinal's departure. (Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 226.) This fact, public and notorious as it was, is nevertheless told with the greatest discrepancy of dates. Hopper, one of Granvelle's own friends, fixes the date of his departure at the latter end of May. (Receuil et Mémorial, p. 36.) Such discrepancies will not seem strange to the student of history.

[41] "Ejus inimici, qui in senatu erant, non aliter exultavêre quam pueri abeunte ludimagistro." Vita Viglii, p. 38.—Hoogstraten and Brederode indulged their wild humor, as they saw the cardinal leaving Brussels, by mounting a horse,—one in the saddle, the other *en croupe*,—and in this way, muffled in their cloaks, accompanying the traveller along the heights for half a league or more. Granvelle tells the story himself, in a letter to Margaret, but dismisses it as the madcap frolic of young men. Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vii. pp. 410, 426.

their places at the board; with the understanding, however, that they should retire whenever the minister returned.[42] Granvelle had given out that his absence would be of no long duration. The regent wrote to her brother in warm commendation of the lords. It would not do for Granvelle ever to return. She was assured by the nobles, if he did return, he would risk the loss of his life, and the king the loss of the Netherlands.[43]

The three lords wrote each to Philip, informing him that they had re-entered the council, and making the most earnest protestations of loyalty. Philip, on his part, graciously replied to each, and in particular to the prince of Orange, who had intimated that slanderous reports respecting himself had found their way to the royal ear. The king declared "he never could doubt for a moment that the prince would continue to show the same zeal in his service that he had always done; and that no one should be allowed to cast a reproach on a person of his quality, and one whom Philip knew so thoroughly."[44] It might almost seem that a double meaning lurked under this smooth language. But, whatever may have been felt, no distrust was exhibited on either side. To

[42] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 226.

[43] "Le comte d'Egmont lui a dit, entre autres, que, si le cardinal revenait, indubitablement il perdrait la vie, et mettrait le Roi en risque de perdre les Pays-Bas." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 295.

[44] "Je n'ay entendu de personne chose dont je peusse concevoir quelque doubte que vous ne fussiez, à l'endroit de mon service, tel que je vous ay cogneu, ny suis si légier de prester l'oreille à ceulx qui me tascheront de mettre en umbre d'ung personage de vostre qualité, et que je cognois si bien." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 76.

those who looked on the surface only,—and they were a hundred to one,—it seemed as if the dismissal of the cardinal had removed all difficulties; and they now confidently relied on a state of permanent tranquillity. But there were others whose eyes looked deeper than the calm sunshine that lay upon the surface,—who saw, more distinctly than when the waters were ruffled by the tempest, the rocks beneath, on which the vessel of state was afterwards to be wrecked.

The cardinal, on leaving the Low Countries, retired to his patrimonial estate at Besançon,—embellished with all that wealth and a cultivated taste could supply. In this pleasant retreat the discomfited statesman found a solace in those pursuits which in earlier, perhaps happier, days had engaged his attention.[45] He had particularly a turn for the physical sciences. But he was fond of letters, and in all his tastes showed the fruits of a liberal culture. He surrounded himself with scholars and artists, and took a lively interest in their pursuits. Justus Lipsius, afterwards so celebrated, was his secretary. He gave encouragement to Plantin, who rivalled in Flanders the fame of the Aldi in Venice. His generous patronage was readily extended to genius, in whatever form it was displayed,—it is some proof how widely extended, that in the course of his life he is said to have received more than a hundred dedications.

[45] "Quiero de aquí adelante hazerme ciego y sordo, y tractar con mis libros y negocios particulares, y dexar el público á los que tanto saben y pueden, y componerme quanto al reposo y sossiego." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. viii. p. 91.—A pleasing illusion, as old as the time of Horace's "*Beatus ille*," etc.

Though greedy of wealth, it was not to hoard it, and his large revenues were liberally dispensed in the foundation of museums, colleges, and public libraries. Besançon, the place of his residence, did not profit least by this munificence.[46]

Such is the portrait which historians have given to us of the minister in his retirement. His own letters show that with these sources of enjoyment he did not altogether disdain others of a less spiritual character. A letter to one of the regent's secretaries, written soon after the cardinal's arrival at Besançon, concludes in the following manner: "I know that God will recompense men according to their deserts. I have confidence that he will aid me, and that I shall yet be able to draw profit from what my enemies designed for my ruin. This is my philosophy, with which I endeavor to live as joyously as I can, laughing at the world, its calumnies and its passions." [47]

With all this happy mixture of the Epicurean and the Stoic, the philosophic statesman did not so contentedly submit to his fate as to forego the hope of seeing himself soon reinstated in authority in the Netherlands. "In the course of two months," he writes, "you may expect to see me there." [48] He kept up an active correspondence with the friends whom he had left in Brussels, and

[46] Gerlache, Royaume des Pays-Bas, tom. i. p. 79.

[47] "Vélà ma philosophie, et procurer avec tout cela de vivre le plus joyeusement que l'on peut, et se rire du monde, des appassionnez, et de ce qu'ilz dient sans fondement." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 240.

[48] "Ilz auront avant mon retour, que ne sera, à mon compte, plus tost que d'icy à deux mois, partant au commencement de juing." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 236.

furnished the results of the information thus obtained, with his own commentaries, to the court at Madrid. His counsel was courted, and greatly considered, by Philip; so that from the shades of his retirement the banished minister was still thought to exercise an important influence on the destiny of Flanders.

A singular history is attached to the papers of Granvelle. That minister resembled his master, Philip the Second, in the fertility of his epistolary vein. That the king had a passion for writing, notwithstanding he could throw the burden of the correspondence, when it suited him, on the other party, is proved by the quantity of letters he left behind him. The example of the monarch seems to have had its influence on his courtiers; and no reign of that time is illustrated by a greater amount of written materials from the hands of the principal actors in it. Far from a poverty of materials, therefore, the historian has much more reason to complain of an *embarras de richesses.*

Granvelle filled the highest posts in different parts of the Spanish empire; and in each of these—in the Netherlands, where he was minister, in Naples, where he was viceroy, in Spain, where he took the lead in the cabinet, and in Besançon, whither he retired from public life—he left ample memorials under his own hand of his residence there. This was particularly the case with Besançon, his native town, and the favorite residence to which he turned, as he tells us, from the turmoil of office to enjoy the sweets of privacy,—yet not, in truth, so sweet to him as the stormy career of the statesman, to judge from the tenacity with which he clung to office.

The cardinal made his library at Besançon the depository not merely of his own letters, but of such as were addressed to him. He preserved them all, however humble the sources whence they came, and, like Philip, he was in the habit of jotting down his own reflections in the margin. As Granvelle's personal and political relations connected him with the most important men of his time, we may well believe that the mass of correspondence which he gathered together was immense. Unfortunately, at his death, instead of bequeathing his manuscripts to some public body, who might have been responsible for the care of them, he left them to heirs who were altogether ignorant of their value. In the course of time the manuscripts found their way to the garret, where they soon came to be regarded as little better than waste paper. They were pilfered by the children and domestics, and a considerable quantity was sent off to a neighboring grocer, who soon converted the corre-

spondence of the great statesman into wrapping-paper for his spices.

From this ignominious fate the residue of the collection was happily rescued by the generous exertions of the Abbé Boissot. This excellent and learned man was the head of the Benedictines of St. Vincent in Besançon, of which town he was himself a native. He was acquainted with the condition of the Granvelle papers, and comprehended their importance. In the course of eighty years which had elapsed since the cardinal's death, his manuscripts had come to be distributed among several heirs, some of whom consented to transfer their property gratuitously to the Abbé Boissot, while he purchased that of others. In this way he at length succeeded in gathering together all that survived of the large collection; and he made it the great business of his subsequent life to study its contents and arrange the chaotic mass of papers with reference to their subjects. To complete his labors, he caused the manuscripts thus arranged to be bound, in eighty-two volumes, folio, thus placing them in that permanent form which might best secure them against future accident.

The abbé did not live to publish to the world an account of his collection, which at his death passed by his will to his brethren of the abbey of St. Vincent, on condition that it should be forever opened to the use of the town of Besançon. It may seem strange that, notwithstanding the existence of this valuable body of original documents was known to scholars, they should so rarely have resorted to it for instruction. Its secluded situation, in the heart of a remote province, was doubtless regarded as a serious obstacle by the historical inquirer, in an age when the public took things too readily on trust to be very solicitous about authentic sources of information. It is more strange that Boissot's Benedictine brethren should have shown themselves so insensible to the treasures under their own roof. One of their body, Dom Prosper l'Evesque, did indeed profit by the Boissot collection to give to the world his Mémoirs de Granvelle, a work in two volumes duodecimo, which, notwithstanding the materials at the writer's command, contain little of any worth, unless it be an occasional extract from Granvelle's own correspondence.

At length, in 1834, the subject drew the attention of M. Guizot, then Minister of Public Instruction in France. By his direction a commission of five scholars was instituted, with the learned Weiss at its head, for the purpose of examining the Granvelle papers, with a view to their immediate publication. The work was performed in a prompt and accurate manner, that must have satisfied its enlightened projector. In 1839 the whole series of papers had been subjected to a careful analysis, and the portion selected that was deemed proper for publication. The first volume appeared in 1841; and the president of the commission, M. Weiss, expressed in his preface the confident hope that in the course of 1843 the remain-

ing papers would all be given to the press. But these anticipations have not been realized. In 1854 only nine volumes had appeared. How far the publication has since advanced I am ignorant.

The Papiers d'État, besides Granvelle's own letters, contain a large amount of historical materials, such as official documents, state papers, and diplomatic correspondence of foreign ministers,—that of Renard, for example, so often quoted in these pages. There are, besides, numerous letters both of Philip and of Charles the Fifth, for the earlier volumes embrace the times of the emperor. The minister's own correspondence is not the least valuable part of the collection. Granvelle stood so high in the confidence of his sovereign that, when not intrusted himself with the conduct of affairs, he was constantly consulted by the king as to the best mode of conducting them. With a different fate from that of most ministers, he retained his influence when he had lost his place. Thus there were few transactions of any moment in which he was not called on directly or indirectly to take part. And his letters furnish a clue for conducting the historical student through more than one intricate negotiation, by revealing the true motives of the parties who were engaged in it.

Granvelle was in such intimate relations with the most eminent persons of the time that his correspondence becomes in some sort the mirror of the age, reflecting the state of opinion on the leading topics of the day. For the same reason it is replete with matters of personal as well as political interest; while the range of its application, far from being confined to Spain, embraces most of the states of Europe with which Spain held intercourse. The French government has done good service by the publication of a work which contains so much for the illustration of the history of the sixteenth century. M. Weiss, the editor, has conducted his labors on the true principles by which an editor should be guided; and, far from magnifying his office and unseasonably obtruding himself on the reader's attention, he has sought only to explain what is obscure in the text, and to give such occasional notices of the writers as may enable the reader to understand their correspondence.

CHAPTER VIII

CHANGES DEMANDED BY THE LORDS

Policy of Philip—Ascendency of the Nobles—The Regent's Embarrassments—Egmont sent to Spain

1564, 1565

WE have now arrived at an epoch in the history of the revolution when, the spirit of the nation having been fully roused, the king had been compelled to withdraw his unpopular minister and to intrust the reins of government to the hands of the nobles. Before proceeding further, it will be well to take a brief survey of the ground, that we may the better comprehend the relations in which the parties stood to each other at the commencement of the contest.

In a letter to his sister, the regent, written some two years after this period, Philip says, "I have never had any other object in view than the good of my subjects. In all that I have done, I have but trod in the footsteps of my father, under whom the people of the Netherlands must admit they lived contented and happy. As to the Inquisition, whatever people may say of it, I have never attempted anything new. With regard to the edicts, I have been always resolved to live and die in the Catholic faith. I could not be content to have my subjects do otherwise. Yet I see not how

this can be compassed without punishing the transgressors. God knows how willingly I would avoid shedding a drop of Christian blood,—above all, that of my people in the Netherlands; and I should esteem it one of the happiest circumstances of my reign to be spared this necessity." [1]

Whatever we may think of the sensibility of Philip, or of his tenderness for his Flemish subjects in particular, we cannot deny that the policy he had hitherto pursued was substantially that of his father. Yet his father lived beloved, and died lamented, by the Flemings; while Philip's course, from the very first, had encountered only odium and opposition. A little reflection will show us the reasons of these different results.

Both Charles and Philip came forward as the great champions of Catholicism. But the emperor's zeal was so far tempered by reason that it could accommodate itself to circumstances. He showed this on more than one occasion, both in Germany and in Flanders. Philip, on the other hand, admitted of no compromise. He was the inexorable foe of heresy. Persecution was his only remedy, and the Inquisition the weapon on which he relied. His first act on setting foot on his native shore was to assist at an *auto de fé*. This proclaimed his purpose to the world, and associated his name indelibly with that of the terrible tribunal.

The free people of the Netherlands felt the same dread of the Inquisition that a free and enlightened people of our own day might be sup-

[1] This remarkable letter, dated Madrid, May 6th, is to be found in the Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 346.

posed to feel. They looked with gloomy apprehension to the unspeakable misery it was to bring to their firesides, and the desolation and ruin to their country. Everything that could in any way be connected with it took the dismal coloring of their fears. The edicts of Charles the Fifth, written in blood, became yet more formidable, as declaring the penalties to be inflicted by this tribunal. Even the erection of the bishoprics, so necessary a measure, was regarded with distrust on account of the inquisitorial powers which of old were vested in the bishops, thus seeming to give additional strength to the arm of persecution. The popular feeling was nourished by every new convert to the Protestant faith, as well as by those who, from views of their own, were willing to fan the flame of rebellion.

Another reason why Philip's policy met with greater opposition than that of his predecessor was the change in the condition of the people themselves. Under the general relaxation of the law, or rather of its execution, in the latter days of Charles the Fifth, the number of the Reformers had greatly multiplied. Calvinism predominated in Luxemburg, Artois, Flanders, and the states lying nearest to France. Holland, Zealand, and the North were the chosen abode of the Anabaptists. The Lutherans swarmed in the districts bordering on Germany; while Antwerp, the commercial capital of Brabant, and the great mart of all nations, was filled with sectaries of every description. Even the Jew, the butt of persecution in the Middle Ages, is said to have lived there unmo-

lested. For such a state of things it is clear that very different legislation was demanded than for that which existed under Charles the Fifth. It was one thing to eradicate a few noxious weeds, and quite another to crush the sturdy growth of heresy which in every direction now covered the land.

A further reason for the aversion to Philip, and one that cannot be too often repeated, was that he was a foreigner. Charles was a native Fleming; and much may be forgiven in a countryman. But Philip was a Spaniard,—one of the nation held in greatest aversion by the men of the Netherlands. It should clearly have been his policy, therefore, to cover up this defect in the eyes of the inhabitants by consulting their national prejudices, and by a show, at least, of confidence in their leaders. Far from this, Philip began with placing a Spanish army on their borders in time of peace. The administration he committed to the hands of a foreigner. And while he thus outraged the national feeling at home, it was remarked that into the royal council at Madrid, where the affairs of the Low Countries, as of the other provinces, were settled in the last resort, not a Fleming was admitted.[2] The public murmured. The nobles remon-

[2] Hopper does not hesitate to regard this circumstance as a leading cause of the discontents in Flanders: "Se voyans desestimez ou pour mieux dire opprimez par les Seigneurs Espaignols, qui chassant les autres hors du Conseil du Roy, participent seulz avecq iceluy, et présument de commander aux Seigneurs et Chevaliers des Pays d'embas: ny plus ni moins qu'ilz font à aultres de Milan, Naples, et Sicille; ce que eulx ne veuillans souffrir en manière que ce soit, a esté et est la vraye ou du moins la principale cause de ces maulx et altérations." Recueil et Mémorial, p. 79.

strated and resisted. Philip was obliged to retrace his steps. He made first one concession, then another. He recalled his troops, removed his minister. The nobles triumphed, and the administration of the country passed into their hands. People thought the troubles were at an end. They were but begun. Nothing had been done towards the solution of the great problem of the rights of conscience. On this the king and the country were at issue as much as ever. All that had been done had only cleared the way to the free discussion of this question, and to the bloody contest that was to follow.

On the departure of Granvelle, the discontented lords, as we have seen, again took their seats in the council of state. They gave the most earnest assurances of loyalty to the king, and seemed as if desirous to make amends for the past by an extraordinary devotion to public business. Margaret received these advances in the spirit in which they were made; and the confidence which she had formerly bestowed on Granvelle she now transferred in full measure to his successful rivals.[3]

It is amusing to read her letters at this period, and to compare them with those which she wrote to Philip the year preceding. In the new coloring given to the portraits, it is hard to recognize a single individual. She cannot speak too highly of the services of the lords,—of the prince of Orange,

[3] Viglius makes many pathetic complaints on this head, in his letters to Granvelle. See Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 319, et alibi.

and Egmont above all,—of their devotion to the public weal and the interests of the sovereign. She begs her brother again and again to testify his own satisfaction by the most gracious letters to these nobles that he can write.[4] The suggestion seems to have met with little favor from Philip. No language, however, is quite strong enough to express Margaret's disgust with the character and conduct of her former minister, Granvelle. It is he that has so long stood betwixt the monarch and the love of the people. She cannot feel easy that he should still remain so near the Netherlands. He should be sent to Rome.[5] She distrusts his influence, even now, over the cabinet at Madrid. He is perpetually talking, she understands, of the probability of his speedy return to Brussels. The rumor of this causes great uneasiness in the country. Should he be permitted to return, it would undoubtedly be the signal for an insurrection.[6] It is clear the duchess had sorely suffered from the tyranny of Granvelle.[7]

But, notwithstanding the perfect harmony which subsisted between Margaret and the principal lords, it was soon seen that the wheels of government were not destined to run on too smoothly. Although the cardinal was gone, there still remained a faction of *Cardinalists*, who represented

[4] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 312, 332, et alibi.

[5] "Il faudrait envoyer le cardinal à Rome." Ibid., p. 329.

[6] Ibid., p. 295.

[7] Morillon, in a letter to Granvelle, dated July 9th, 1564, tells him of the hearty hatred in which he is held by the duchess; who, whether she has been told that the minister only made her his dupe, or from whatever cause, never hears his name without changing color. Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. viii. p. 131.

his opinions, and who, if few in number, made themselves formidable by the strength of their opposition. At the head of these were the viscount de Barlaimont and the President Viglius.

The former, head of the council of finance, was a Flemish noble of the first class,—yet more remarkable for his character than for his rank. He was a man of unimpeachable integrity, stanch in his loyalty both to the Church and to the crown, with a resolute spirit not to be shaken, for it rested on principle.

His coadjutor, Viglius, was an eminent jurist, an able writer, a sagacious statesman. He had been much employed by the emperor in public affairs, which he managed with a degree of caution that amounted almost to timidity. He was the personal friend of Granvelle, had adopted his views, and carried on with him a constant correspondence, which is among our best sources of information. He was frugal and moderate in his habits, not provoking criticism, like that minister, by his ostentation and irregularities of life. But he was nearly as formidable, from the official powers with which he was clothed, and the dogged tenacity with which he clung to his purposes. He filled the high office of president both of the privy council and of the council of state, and was also keeper of the great seal. It was thus obviously in his power to oppose a great check to the proceedings of the opposite party. That he did thus often thwart them is attested by the reiterated complaints of the duchess. "The president," she tells her brother, "makes me endure the pains of hell by the man-

ner in which he traverses my measures." [8] His real object, like that of Granvelle and of their followers, she says on another occasion, is to throw the country into disorder. They would find their account in fishing in the troubled waters. They dread a state of tranquillity, which would afford opportunity for exposing their corrupt practices in the government.[9]

To these general charges of delinquency the duchess added others, of a more vulgar peculation. Viglius, who had taken priest's orders for the purpose, was provost of the church of St. Bavon. Margaret openly accused him of purloining the costly tapestries, the plate, the linen, the jewels, and even considerable sums of money belonging to the church.[10] She insisted on the impropriety of allowing such a man to hold office under the government.

Nor was the president silent on his part, and in his correspondence with Granvelle he retorts similar accusations in full measure on his enemies. He roundly taxes the great nobles with simony and extortion. Offices, both ecclesiastical and secular, were put up for sale in a shameless manner, and disposed of to the highest bidder. It was in this

[8] "Viglius lui fait souffrir les peines de l'enfer, en traversant les mesures qu'exige le service du Roi." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. viii. p. 314.

[9] "Ils espèrent alors pêcher, comme on dit, en eau trouble, et atteindre le but qu'ils poursuivent depuis longtemps: celui de s'emparer de toutes les affaires. C'est pourquoi ils ont été et sont encore contraires à l'assemblée des états généraux. . . . Le cardinal, le président et leur séquelle craignent, si la tranquillité se rétablit dans le pays, qu'on ne lise dans leurs livres, et qu'on ne découvre leurs injustices, simonies, et rapines." Ibid., p. 311.

[10] Ibid., p. 320, et alibi.

way that the bankrupt nobles paid their debts, by bestowing vacant places on their creditors. Nor are the regent's hands, he intimates, altogether clean from the stain of these transactions.[11] He accuses the lords, moreover, of using their authority to interfere perpetually with the course of justice. They had acquired an unbounded ascendency over Margaret, and treated her with a deference which, he adds, " is ever sure to captivate the sex." [12] She was more especially under the influence of her secretary, Armenteros, a creature of the nobles, who profited by his position to fill his own coffers at the expense of the exchequer.[13] For himself, he is in such disgrace for his resistance to these disloyal proceedings that the duchess excludes him as far as possible from the management of affairs, and treats him with undisguised coldness. Nothing but the desire to do his duty would induce him to remain a day longer in a post like this, from which his only wish is that his sovereign would release him.[14]

[11] " Ce qu'elle se résent le plus contre v. i. S. et contre moy, est ce que l'avons si longuement gardé d'en faire son prouffit, qu'elle fait maintenant des offices et bénéfices et aultres grâces." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 406.

[12] " Ipsam etiam Ducissam in suam pertraxêre sententiam, honore etiam majore quam antea ipsam afficientes, quo muliebris sexus facilè capitur."—This remark, however, is taken, not from his correspondence with Granvelle, but from his autobiography. See Vita Viglii, p. 40.

[13] The extortions of Margaret's secretary, who was said to have amassed a fortune of seventy thousand ducats in her service, led the people, instead of Armenteros, punningly to call him *Argenterios*. This piece of scandal is communicated for the royal ear in a letter addressed to one of the king's secretaries by Fray Lorenzo de Villacancio, of whom I shall give a full account elsewhere. Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Rapport, p. xliii.

[14] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 273, et alibi.

The president seems never to have written directly to Philip. It would only expose him, he said, to the suspicions and the cavils of his enemies. The wary statesman took warning by the fate of Granvelle. But, as his letters to the banished minister were all forwarded to Philip, the monarch, with the despatches of his sister before him, had the means of contemplating both sides of the picture, and of seeing that, to whichever party he intrusted the government, the interests of the country were little likely to be served. Had it been his father, the emperor, who was on the throne, such knowledge would not have been in his possession four-and-twenty hours before he would have been on his way to the Netherlands. But Philip was of a more sluggish temper. He was capable, indeed, of much passive exertion,—of incredible toil in the cabinet,—and from his palace, as was said, would have given law to Christendom. But rather than encounter the difficulties of a voyage he was willing, it appears, to risk the loss of the finest of his provinces.[15]

[15] Granvelle regarded such a step as the only effectual remedy for the disorders in the Low Countries. In a remarkable letter to Philip, dated July 20th, 1565, he presents such a view of the manner in which the government is conducted as might well alarm his master. Justice and religion are at the lowest ebb. Public offices are disposed of at private sale. The members of the council indulge in the greatest freedom in their discussions on matters of religion. It is plain that the Confession of Augsburg would be acceptable to some of them. The truth is never allowed to reach the king's ears; as the letters sent to Madrid are written to suit the majority of the council, and so as not to give an unfavorable view of the country. Viglius is afraid to write. There are spies at the court, he says, who would betray his correspondence, and it might cost him his life. Granvelle concludes by urging the king to come in person, and with money enough to subsidize a force to support him. Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. viii. p. 620, et seq.

Yet he wrote to his sister to encourage her with the prospect of his visiting the country as soon as he could be released from a war in which he was engaged with the Turks. He invited her, at the same time, to send him further particulars of the misconduct of Viglius, and expressed the hope that some means might be found of silencing his opposition.[16]

It is not easy at this day to strike the balance between the hostile parties, so as to decide on the justice of these mutual accusations and to assign to each the proper share of responsibility for the mismanagement of the government. That it was mismanaged is certain. That offices were put up for sale is undeniable; for the duchess frankly discusses the expediency of it, in a letter to her brother. This, at least, absolves the act from the imputation of secrecy. The conflict of the council of state with the two other councils often led to disorders, since the decrees passed by the privy council, which had cognizance of matters of justice, were frequently frustrated by the amnesties and pardons granted by the council of state. To remedy this, the nobles contended that it was necessary to subject the decrees of the other councils to the revision of the council of state, and, in a word, to concentrate in this last body the whole authority of government.[17] The council of state, composed chiefly of the great aristocracy, looked down with contempt on those subordinate councils,

[16] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 317.

[17] Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 39.—Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 222.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 347, et alibi.

made up for the most part of men of humbler condition, pledged by their elevation to office to maintain the interests of the crown. They would have placed the administration of the country in the hands of an oligarchy, made up of the great Flemish nobles. This would be to break up that system of distribution into separate departments established by Charles the Fifth for the more perfect despatch of business. It would, in short, be such a change in the constitution of the country as would of itself amount to a revolution.

In the state of things above described, the Reformation gained rapidly in the country. The nobles generally, as has been already intimated, were loyal to the Roman Catholic Church. Many of the younger nobility, however, who had been educated at Geneva, returned tinctured with heretical doctrines from the school of Calvin.[18] But, whether Catholic or Protestant, the Flemish aristocracy looked with distrust on the system of persecution, and held the Inquisition in the same abhorrence as did the great body of the people. It was fortunate for the Reformation in the Netherlands that at its outset it received the support even of the Catholics, who resisted the Inquisition as an outrage on their political liberties.

Under the lax administration of the edicts,

[18] The Spanish ambassador to England, Guzman de Silva, in a letter dated from the Low Countries, refers this tendency among the younger nobles to their lax education at home, and to their travels abroad: "La noblesse du pays est généralement catholique: il n'y a que les jeunes gens dont, à cause de l'éducation relachée qu'ils ont reçue, et de leur fréquentation dans les pays voisins, les principes soient un peu équivoques." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 383.

exiles who had fled abroad from persecution now returned to Flanders. Calvinist ministers and refugees from France crossed the borders and busied themselves with the work of proselytism. Seditious pamphlets were circulated, calling on the regent to confiscate the ecclesiastical revenues and apply them to the use of the state, as had been done in England.[19] The Inquisition became an object of contempt almost as much as of hatred. Two of the principal functionaries wrote to Philip that without further support they could be of no use in a situation which exposed them only to derision and danger.[20] At Bruges and at Brussels the mob entered the prisons and released the prisoners. A more flagrant violation of justice occurred at Antwerp. A converted friar, named Fabricius, who had been active in preaching and propagating the new doctrines, was tried and sentenced to the stake. On the way to execution, the people called out to him, from the balconies and the doorways, to "take courage, and endure manfully to the last." [21] When the victim was bound to the stake, and the pile was kindled, the mob discharged such a volley of stones at the officers as speedily put them to flight. But the unhappy man, though

[19] "Se dice publico que ay medios para descargar todas las deudas del Rey sin cargo del pueblo, tomando los bienes de la gente de yglesia ó parte, conforme al ejemplo que se ha hecho en ynglaterra y francia, y tambien que ellos eran muy ricos y volberian mas templados y hombres de bien." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

[20] "Leur office est devenu odieux au peuple; ils rencontrent tant de résistances et de calomnies, qu'ils ne peuvent l'exercer sans danger pour leurs personnes." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 353.

[21] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 147.

unscathed by the fire, was stabbed to the heart by the executioner, who made his escape in the tumult. The next morning, placards written in blood were found affixed to the public buildings, threatening vengeance on all who had any part in the execution of Fabricius; and one of the witnesses against him, a woman, hardly escaped with life from the hands of the populace.[22]

The report of these proceedings caused a great sensation at Madrid; and Philip earnestly called on his sister to hunt out and pursue the offenders. This was not easy, where most even of those who did not join in the act fully shared in the feeling which led to it. Yet Philip continued to urge the necessity of enforcing the laws for the preservation of the Faith, as the thing dearest to his heart. He would sometimes indicate in his letters the name of a suspicious individual, his usual dress, his habits and appearance,—descending into details which may well surprise us, considering the multitude of affairs of a weightier character that pressed upon his mind.[23] One cannot doubt that Philip was at heart an inquisitor.

Yet the fires of persecution were not permitted wholly to slumber. The historian of the Reformation enumerates seventeen who suffered capitally for their religious opinions, in the course of the year 1564.[24] This, though pitiable, was a small

[22] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 147.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 174.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 321, 327.

[23] Strada, De Bello Belgico, p. 172.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 327, et alibi.

[24] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. pp. 146–149.

number—if indeed it be the whole number—compared with the thousands who are said to have perished in the same space of time in the preceding reign. It was too small to produce any effect as a persecution, while the sight of the martyr, singing hymns in the midst of the flames, only kindled a livelier zeal in the spectators, and a deeper hatred for their oppressors.

The finances naturally felt the effects of the general disorder of the country. The public debt, already large, as we have seen, was now so much increased that the yearly deficiency in the revenue, according to the regent's own statement, amounted to six hundred thousand florins;[25] and she knew of no way of extricating the country from its embarrassments, unless the king should come to its assistance. The convocation of the states-general was insisted on as the only remedy for these disorders. That body alone, it was contended, was authorized to vote the requisite subsidies and to redress the manifold grievances of the nation. Yet in point of fact its powers had hitherto been little more than to propose the subsidies for the approbation of the several provinces, and to *remonstrate* on the grievances of the nation. To invest the states-general with the power of *redressing* these grievances would bestow on them legislative functions which they had rarely, if ever, exercised. This would be to change the constitution of the country, by the new weight it would give to the popular element; a change which the great lords, who had already

[25] "La dépense excède annuellement les revenus, de 600,000 florins." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 328.

the lesser nobles entirely at their disposal,[26] would probably know well how to turn to account.[27] Yet Margaret had now so entirely resigned herself to their influence that, notwithstanding the obvious consequences of these measures, she recommended to Philip both to assemble the states-general and to remodel the council of state;[28]—and this to a monarch more jealous of his authority than any other prince in Europe!

To add to the existing troubles, orders were received from the court of Madrid to publish the decrees of the Council of Trent throughout the Netherlands. That celebrated council had terminated its long session in 1563, with the results that might have been expected,—those of widening the breach between Protestant and Catholic, and of enlarging, or at least more firmly establishing the authority of the pope. One good result may be mentioned, that of providing for a more strict supervision of the morals and discipline of the clergy,—a circumstance which caused the decrees to be in extremely bad odor with that body.

It was hoped that Philip would imitate the

[26] "Quant à la moyenne noblesse des Pays-Bas, les Seigneurs l'auront tantost à leur cordelle." Chantonnay to Granvelle, October 6th, 1565, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 426.

[27] That Granvelle understood well these consequences of convening the states-general is evident from the manner in which he repeatedly speaks of this event in his correspondence with the king. See, in particular, a letter to Philip, dated as early as August 20th, 1563, where he sums up his remarks on the matter by saying, "In fine, they would entirely change the form of government, so that there would be little remaining for the regent to do, as the representative of your majesty, or for your majesty yourself to do, since they would have completely put you under guardianship." Papiers d'état de Granvelle, tom. vii. p. 186.

[28] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 329.

example of France, and reject decrees which thus exalted the power of the pope. Men were led to expect this the more, from the mortification which the king had lately experienced from a decision of the pontiff on a question of precedence between the Castilian and French ambassadors at his court. This delicate matter, long pending, had been finally determined in favor of France by Pius the Fifth, who may have thought it more politic to secure a fickle ally than to reward a firm one. The decision touched Philip to the quick. He at once withdrew his ambassador from Rome, and refused to receive an envoy from his holiness.[29] It seemed that a serious rupture was likely to take place between the parties. But it was not in the nature of Philip to be long at feud with the court of Rome. In a letter to the duchess of Parma, dated August 6th, 1564, he plainly intimated that in matters of faith he was willing at all times to sacrifice his private feelings to the public weal.[30] He consequently commanded the decrees of the Council of Trent to be received as law throughout his dominions, saying that he could make no exception for the Netherlands, when he made none for Spain.[31]

The promulgation of the decrees was received, as had been anticipated, with general discontent. The clergy complained of the interference with

[29] Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 14, 16.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 176.

[30] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 179.

[31] "Si, après avoir accepté le concile sans limitations dans tous ses autres royaumes et seigneuries, il allait y opposer des réserves aux Pays-Bas, cela produirait un fâcheux effet." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 328.

their immunities. The men of Brabant stood stoutly on the chartered rights secured to them by the "*Joyeuse Entrée.*" And the people generally resisted the decrees, from a vague idea of their connection with the Inquisition; while, as usual when mischief was on foot, they loudly declaimed against Granvelle as being at the bottom of it.

In this unhappy condition of affairs, it was determined by the council of state to send some one to Madrid to lay the grievances of the nation before the king, and to submit to him what in their opinion would be the most effectual remedy. They were the more induced to this by the unsatisfactory nature of the royal correspondence. Philip, to the great discontent of the lords, had scarcely condescended to notice their letters.[32] Even to Margaret's ample communications he rarely responded, and, when he did, it was in vague and general terms, conveying little more than the necessity of executing justice and watching over the purity of the Faith.

The person selected for the unenviable mission to Madrid was Egmont, whose sentiments of loyalty, and of devotion to the Catholic faith, it was

[32] Yet whatever slight Philip may have put upon the lords in this respect, he showed William, in particular, a singular proof of confidence. The prince's *cuisine*, as I have elsewhere stated, was renowned over the Continent; and Philip requested of him his *chef*, to take the place of his own, lately deceased. But the king seems to lay less stress on the skill of this functionary than on his trustworthiness,—a point of greater moment with a monarch. This was a compliment—in that suspicious age—to William, which, we imagine, he would have been slow to return by placing his life in the hands of a cook from the royal kitchens of Madrid. See Philip's letter in the Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 89.

thought, would recommend him to the king; while his brilliant reputation, his rank, and his popular manners would find favor with the court and the people. Egmont himself was the less averse to the mission, that he had some private suits of his own to urge with the monarch.

This nomination was warmly supported by William, between whom and the count a perfectly good understanding seems to have subsisted, in spite of the efforts of the Cardinalists to revive their ancient feelings of jealousy. Yet these feelings still glowed in the bosoms of the wives of the two nobles, as was evident from the warmth with which they disputed the question of precedence with each other. Both were of the highest rank, and, as there was no umpire to settle the delicate question, it was finally arranged by the two ladies appearing in public always arm in arm,—an equality which the haughty dames were careful to maintain, in spite of the ridiculous embarrassments to which they were occasionally exposed by narrow passages and doorways.[33] If the question of precedence had related to character, it would have been easily settled. The troubles from the misconduct of Anne of Saxony bore as heavily on the

[33] Margaret would fain have settled the dispute by giving the countess of Egmont precedence at table over her fair rival. (Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 445.) But both Anne of Saxony and her household stoutly demurred to this decision, —perhaps to the right of the regent to make it. "Les femmes ne se cédent en rien et se tiegnent par le bras, *ingredientes pari passu*, et si l'on rencontre une porte trop estroicte, l'on se serre l'ung sur l'aultre pour passer également par ensamble, affin que il n'y ayt du devant ou derrière." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 22.

prince, her husband, at this very time, as the troubles of the state.[34]

Before Egmont's departure, a meeting of the council of state was called, to furnish him with the proper instructions. The president, Viglius, gave it as his opinion that the mission was superfluous, and that the great nobles had only to reform their own way of living to bring about the necessary reforms in the country. Egmont was instructed by the regent to represent to the king the deplorable condition of the land, the prostration of public credit, the decay of religion, and the symptoms of discontent and disloyalty in the people. As the most effectual remedy for these evils, he was to urge the king to come in person, and that speedily, to Flanders. "If his majesty does not approve of this," said Margaret, "impress upon him the necessity of making further remittances, and of giving me precise instructions as to the course I am to pursue." [35]

[34] There is a curious epistle, in Groen's collection, from William to his wife's uncle, the elector of Saxony, containing sundry charges against his niece. The termagant lady was in the habit, it seems, of rating her husband roundly before company. William, with some *naïveté*, declares he could have borne her ill-humor to a reasonable extent in private, but in public it was intolerable. Unhappily, Anne gave more serious cause of disturbance to her lord than that which arose from her temper, and which afterwards led to their separation. On the present occasion, it may be added, the letter was not sent,—as the lady, who had learned the nature of it, promised amendment. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 31.

[35] "Au cas que le Roi s'en excuse, il doit demander que S. M. donne à la duchesse des instructions précises sur la conduite qu'elle a à tenir." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 337.—The original instructions prepared by Viglius were subsequently modified by his friend Hopper, at the suggestion of the prince of Orange. See Vita Viglii, p. 41.

The prince of Orange took part in the discussion with a warmth he had rarely shown. It was time, he said, that the king should be disabused of the errors under which he labored in respect to the Netherlands. The edicts must be mitigated. It was not possible, in the present state of feeling, either to execute the edicts or to maintain the Inquisition.[36] The Council of Trent was almost equally odious; nor could they enforce its decrees in the Netherlands while the countries on the borders rejected them. The people would no longer endure the perversion of justice and the miserable wrangling of the councils. This last blow was aimed at the president. The only remedy was to enlarge the council of state and to strengthen its authority. For his own part, he concluded, he could not understand how any prince could claim the right of interfering with the consciences of his subjects in matters of religion.[37] The impassioned tone of his eloquence, so contrary to the usually calm manner of William the Silent, and the boldness with which he avowed his opinions, caused a great sensation in the assembly.[38] That night was passed by Viglius, who gives his own account of the matter, in tossing on his bed, painfully rumi-

[36] Vita Viglii, ubi supra.

[37] "Non posse ei placere, velle Principes animis hominum imperare, libertatemque Fidei et Religionis ipsis adimere." Ibid., p. 42.

[38] Burgundius puts into the mouth of William on this occasion a fine piece of declamation, in which he reviews the history of heresy from the time of Constantine the Great downwards. This display of school-boy erudition, so unlike the masculine simplicity of the prince of Orange, may be set down among those fine things, the credit of which may be fairly given to the historian rather than to the hero. Burgundius, Hist. Belgica (Ingolst., 1633), pp. 126–131.

nating on his forlorn position in the council, with scarcely one to support him in the contest which he was compelled to wage, not merely with the nobles, but with the regent herself. The next morning, while dressing, he was attacked by a fit of apoplexy, which partially deprived him of the use of both his speech and his limbs.[39] It was some time before he could resume his place at the board. This new misfortune furnished him with a substantial argument for soliciting the king's permission to retire from office. In this he was warmly seconded by Margaret, who, while she urged the president's incapacity, nothing touched by his situation, eagerly pressed her brother to call him to account for his delinquencies, and especially his embezzlement of the church property.[40]

Philip, who seems to have shunned any direct intercourse with his Flemish subjects, had been averse to have Egmont, or any other envoy, sent to Madrid. On learning that the mission was at length settled, he wrote to Margaret that he had made up his mind to receive the count graciously and to show no discontent with the conduct of the lords. That the journey, however, was not without its perils, may be inferred from a singular document that has been preserved to us. It is signed by a number of Egmont's personal friends, each

[39] "Itaque mane de lecto surgens, inter vestiendum apoplexiâ attactus est, ut occurrentes domestici amicique in summo eum discrimine versari judicarent." Vita Viglii, p. 42.

[40] "Elle conseille au Roi d'ordonner à Viglius de rendre ses comptes, et de restituer les meubles des neuf maisons de sa prévôté de Saint-Bavon, qu'il a dépouillées." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 350.

of whom traced his signature in his own blood. In this paper the parties pledge their faith, as true knights and gentlemen, that if any harm be done to Count Egmont during his absence they will take ample vengeance on Cardinal Granvelle, or whoever might be the author of it.[41] The cardinal seems to have been the personification of evil with the Flemings of every degree. This instrument, which was deposited with the Countess Egmont, was subscribed with the names of seven nobles, most of them afterwards conspicuous in the troubles of the country. One might imagine that such a document was more likely to alarm than to reassure the wife to whom it was addressed.[42]

In the beginning of January, Egmont set out on his journey. He was accompanied for some distance by a party of his friends, who at Cambray gave him a splendid entertainment. Among those present was the archbishop of Cambray, a prelate who had made himself unpopular by the zeal he had shown in the persecution of the Reformers. As the wine-cup passed freely round, some of the younger guests amused themselves with frequently pledging the prelate, and endeavoring to draw him into a greater degree of conviviality than was altogether becoming his station. As he at length declined their pledges, they began openly to

[41] "Lui promettons, en foy de gentilhomme et chevalier d'honeur si durant son aller et retour lui adviene quelque notable inconvénient, que nous en prendrons la vengeance sur le Cardinal de Granvelle ou seux qui en seront participans ou penseront de l'estre, et non sur autre." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 345.

[42] This curious document, published by Arnoldi (Hist. Denkw., p. 282), has been transferred by Groen to the pages of his collection. See Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, ubi supra.

taunt him; and one of the revellers, irritated by the archbishop's reply, would have thrown a large silver dish at his head, had not his arm been arrested by Egmont. Another of the company, however, succeeded in knocking off the prelate's cap;[43] and a scene of tumult ensued, from which the archbishop was extricated, not without difficulty, by the more sober and considerate part of the company. The whole affair—mortifying in the extreme to Egmont—is characteristic of the country at this period, when business of the greatest importance was settled at the banquet, as we often find in the earlier history of the revolution.

Egmont's reception at Madrid was of the most flattering kind. Philip's demeanor towards his great vassal was marked by unusual benignity; and the courtiers, readily taking their cue from their sovereign, vied with one another in attentions to the man whose prowess might be said to have won for Spain the great victories of Gravelines and St. Quentin. In fine, Egmont, whose brilliant exterior and noble bearing gave additional lustre to his reputation, was the object of general admiration during his residence of several weeks at Madrid. It seemed as if the court of Castile was prepared to change its policy, from the flattering attentions it thus paid to the representatives of the Netherlands.

During his stay, Egmont was admitted to sev-

[43] "Ibi tum offensus conviva, arreptam argenteam pelvim (quæ manibus abluendis mensam fuerat imposita) injicere Archiepiscopo in caput conatur: retinet pelvim Egmondanus: quod dum facit, en alter conviva pugno in frontem Archiepiscopo eliso, pileum de capite deturbat." Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumult., p. 190.

eral audiences, in which he exposed to the monarch the evils that beset the country, and the measures proposed for relieving them. As the two most effectual, he pressed him to mitigate the edicts and to reorganize the council of state.[44] Philip listened with much benignity to these suggestions of the Flemish noble; and if he did not acquiesce, he gave no intimation to the contrary, except by assuring the count of his determinaation to maintain the integrity of the Catholic faith. To Egmont personally he showed the greatest indulgence, and the count's private suits sped as favorably as he could have expected. But a remarkable anecdote proves that Philip at this very time, with all this gracious demeanor, had not receded one step from the ground he had always occupied.

Not long after Egmont's arrival, Philip privately called a meeting of the most eminent theologians in the capital. To this conclave he communicated briefly the state of the Low Countries and their demand to enjoy freedom of conscience in matters of religion. He concluded by inquiring the opinion of his auditors on the subject. The reverend body, doubtless supposing that the king only wanted their sanction to extricate himself from the difficulties of his position, made answer, "that, considering the critical situation of Flan-

[44] If we are to trust Morillon's report to Granvelle, Egmont denied, to some one who charged him with it, having recommended to Philip to soften the edicts. (Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 374.) But Morillon was too much of a gossip to be the best authority; and, as this was understood to be one of the objects of the count's mission, it will be but justice to him to take the common opinion that he executed it.

ders, and the imminent danger, if thwarted, of its disloyalty to the crown and total defection from the Church, he might be justified in allowing the people freedom of worshipping in their own way." To this Philip sternly replied, " He had not called them to learn whether he *might* grant this to the Flemings, but whether he *must* do so." [45] The flexible conclave, finding they had mistaken their cue, promptly answered in the negative; on which Philip, prostrating himself on the ground before a crucifix, exclaimed, " I implore thy divine majesty, Ruler of all things, that thou keep me in the mind that I am in, never to allow myself either to become or to be called the lord of those who reject thee for their Lord." [46] The story was told to the historian who records it by a member of the assembly, filled with admiration at the pious zeal of the monarch! From that moment the doom of the Netherlands was sealed.

Yet Egmont had so little knowledge of the true state of things, that he indulged in the most cheerful prognostications for the future. His frank and cordial nature readily responded to the friendly demonstrations he received, and his vanity was gratified by the homage universally paid to him. On leaving the country, he made a visit to the royal residences of Segovia and of the

[45] " Negavit accitos à se illos fuisse, ut docerent an permittere id posset, sed an sibi necessariò permittendum præscriberent." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 185.

[46] " Tum Rex in eorum conspectu, humi positus ante Christi Domini simulacrum, 'Ego verò, inquit, Divinam Majestatem tuam oro, quæsoque, Rex omnium Deus, hanc ut mihi mentem perpetuam velis, ne illorum, qui te Dominum respuerint, uspiam esse me aut dici Dominum acquiescam.'" Ibid., ubi supra.

Escorial,—the magnificent pile already begun by Philip, and which continued to occupy more or less of his time during the remainder of his reign. Egmont, in a letter addressed to the king, declares himself highly delighted with what he has seen at both these places, and assures his sovereign that he returns to Flanders the most contented man in the world.[47]

When arrived there, early in April, 1565, the count was loud in his profession of the amiable dispositions of the Castilian court towards the Netherlands. Egmont's countrymen—William of Orange and a few persons of cooler judgment alone excepted—readily indulged in the same dream of sanguine expectation, flattering themselves with the belief that a new policy was to prevail in Madrid, and that their country was henceforth to thrive under the blessings of religious toleration. It was a pleasing illusion, destined to be of no long duration.

[47] "Il retourne en Flandre, l'homme le plus satisfait du monde." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 349.

CHAPTER IX

PHILIP'S INFLEXIBILITY

Philip's Duplicity—His Procrastination—Despatches from Segovia —Effect on the Country—The Compromise—Orange and Egmont

1565, 1566

SHORTLY after Egmont's return to Brussels, Margaret called a meeting of the council of state, at which the sealed instructions brought by the envoy from Madrid were opened and read. They began by noticing the count's demeanor in terms so flattering as showed the mission had proved acceptable to the king. Then followed a declaration, strongly expressed and sufficiently startling. "I would rather lose a hundred thousand lives, if I had so many," said the monarch, "than allow a single change in matters of religion." [1] He, however, recommended that a commission be appointed, consisting of three bishops with a number of jurists, who should advise with the members of the council as to the best mode of instructing the people, especially in their spiritual concerns. It might be well, moreover, to substitute some secret methods for the public forms of execution, which now enabled the heretic to assume to

[1] "En ce qui touche la religion, il déclare qu'il ne peut consentir à ce qu'il y soit fait quelque changement; qu'il aimerait mieux perdre cent mille vies, s'il les avait." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 347.

himself the glory of martyrdom and thereby produce a mischievous impression on the people.[2] No other allusion was made to the pressing grievances of the nation, though, in a letter addressed at the same time to the duchess, Philip said that he had come to no decision as to the council of state, where the proposed change seemed likely to be attended with inconvenience.[3]

This, then, was the result of Egmont's mission to Madrid! this the change so much vaunted in the policy of Philip! "The count has been the dupe of Spanish cunning," exclaimed the prince of Orange. It was too true; and Egmont felt it keenly, as he perceived the ridicule to which he was exposed by the confident tone in which he had talked of the amiable dispositions of the Castilian court, and by the credit he had taken to himself for promoting them.[4]

A greater sensation was produced among the people; for their expectations had been far more sanguine than those entertained by William and the few who, like him, understood the character of Philip too well to place great confidence in the promises of Egmont. They loudly declaimed against the king's insincerity, and accused their envoy of having shown more concern for his private interests than for those of the public. This taunt touched the honor of that nobleman, who bitterly complained that it was an artifice of Philip to destroy his credit with his countrymen; and, the

[2] Correspondance de Philippe II., ubi supra.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 187.

[3] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 347.

[4] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 92.

better to prove his good faith, he avowed his purpose of throwing up at once all the offices he held under the government.[5]

The spirit of persecution, after a temporary lull, now again awakened. But everywhere the inquisitors were exposed to insult, and met with the same resistance as before; while their victims were cheered with expressions of sympathy from those who saw them led to execution. To avoid the contagion of example, the executions were now conducted secretly in the prisons.[6] But the mystery thus thrown around the fate of the unhappy sufferer only invested it with an additional horror. Complaints were made every day to the government by the states, the magistrates, and the people, denouncing the persecutions to which they were exposed. Spies, they said, were in every house, watching looks, words, gestures. No man was secure, either in person or property. The public groaned under an intolerable slavery.[7] Meanwhile the Huguenot emissaries were busy as ever in propagating their doctrines; and with the work of reform was mingled the seed of revolution.

The regent felt the danger of this state of things, and her impotence to relieve it. She did

[5] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 364.

[6] "And everywhere great endeavors were used to deliver the imprisoned, as soon as it was known how they were privately made away in the prisons: for the inquisitors not daring any longer to carry them to a public execution, this new method of despatching them, which the king himself had ordered, was now put in practice, and it was commonly performed thus: They bound the condemned person neck and heels, then threw him into a tub of water, where he lay till he was quite suffocated." Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 155.

[7] Ibid., tom. i. p. 154.

all she could in freely exposing it to Philip, informing him at the same time of Egmont's disgust, and the general discontent of the nation, at the instructions from Spain. She ended, as usual, by beseeching her brother to come himself, if he would preserve his authority in the Netherlands.[8] To these communications the royal answers came but rarely, and, when they did come, were for the most part vague and unsatisfactory.

"Everything goes on with Philip," writes Chantonnay, formerly minister to France, to his brother Granvelle,—"everything goes on from to-morrow to to-morrow; the only resolution is, to remain irresolute.[9] The king will allow matters to become so entangled in the Low Countries that, if he ever should visit them, he will find it easier to conform to the state of things than to mend it. The lords there are more of kings than the king himself.[10] They have all the smaller nobles in leading-strings. It is impossible that Philip should conduct himself like a man.[11] His only object is to cajole the Flemish nobles, so that he may be spared the necessity of coming to Flanders."

"It is a pity," writes the secretary Perez, "that the king will manage affairs as he does, now taking counsel of this man, and now of that; concealing some matters from those he consults, and trusting

[8] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 361, et alibi.

[9] "Tout vat de demain à demain, et la principale résolution en telles choses est de demeurer perpétuellement irrésolu." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 426.

[10] "Il y en a qui sont plus Roys que le Roy." Ibid., ubi supra.

[11] "Le Roi aura bien de la peine à se montrer homme." Ibid., ubi supra.

them with others,—showing full confidence in no one. With this way of proceeding, it is no wonder that despatches should be contradictory in their tenor." [12]

It is doubtless true that procrastination and distrust were the besetting sins of Philip, and were followed by their natural consequences. He had, moreover, as we have seen, a sluggishness of nature, which kept him in Madrid when he should have been in Brussels,—where his father, in similar circumstances, would long since have been, seeing with his own eyes what Philip saw only with the eyes of others. But still his policy in the present instance may be referred quite as much to deliberate calculation as to his natural temper. He had early settled it as a fixed principle never to concede religious toleration to his subjects. He had intimated this pretty clearly in his different communications to the government of Flanders. That he did not announce it in a more absolute and unequivocal form may well have arisen from the apprehension that in the present irritable state of the people this might rouse their passions into a flame. At least, it might be reserved for a last resort. Meanwhile, he hoped to weary them out by maintaining an attitude of cold reserve, until, convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, they would cease altogether to resist. In short, he seemed to deal with the Netherlands like a patient angler, who allows the trout to exhaust himself by his own efforts, rather than by a violent movement risk the loss of him altogether. It is clear Philip

[12] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 358.

did not understand the character of the Netherlander,—as dogged and determined as his own.

Considering the natural bent of the king's disposition, there seems no reason to charge Granvelle, as was commonly done in the Low Countries, with having given a direction to his policy. It is, however, certain that on all great questions the minister's judgment seems to have perfectly coincided with that of his master. "If your majesty mitigates the edicts," writes the cardinal, "affairs will become worse in Flanders than they are in France." [13] No change should be allowed in the council of state.[14] A meeting of the states-general would inflict an injury which the king would feel for thirty years to come.[15] Granvelle maintained a busy correspondence with his partisans in the Low Countries, and sent the results of it—frequently the original letters themselves—to Madrid. Thus Philip, by means of the reports of the great nobles on the one hand, and of the Cardinalists on the other, was enabled to observe the movements in Flanders from the most opposite points of view.

The king's replies to the letters of the minister were somewhat scanty, to judge from the complaints which Granvelle made of his neglect. With all this, the cardinal professes to be well pleased that he is rid of so burdensome an office as that of governing the Netherlands. "Here," he

[13] "Le Roi peut être certain que, s'il accorde que les édits ne s'exécutent pas, jamais plus le peuple ne souffrira qu'on châtie les hérétiques; et les choses iront ainsi aux Pays-Bas beaucoup plus mal qu'en France." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 323.

[14] Ibid., p. 371.

[15] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 246.

writes to his friend Viglius, "I make good cheer, busying myself with my own affairs, and preparing my despatches in quiet, seldom leaving the house, except to take a walk, to attend church, or to visit my mother." [16] In this simple way of life the philosophic statesman seems to have passed his time to his own satisfaction, though it is evident, notwithstanding his professions, that he cast many a longing look back to the Netherlands, the seat of his brief authority. "The hatred the people of Flanders bear me," he writes to Philip, "afflicts me sorely; but I console myself that it is for the service of God and my king." [17] The cardinal, amid his complaints of the king's neglect, affected the most entire submission to his will. "I would go anywhere," he writes,—"to the Indies, anywhere in the world,—would even throw myself into the fire, did you desire it." [18] Philip, not long after, put these professions to the test. In October, 1565, he yielded to the regent's importunities, and commanded Granvelle to transfer his residence to Rome. The cardinal would not move. "Anywhere," he wrote to his master, "but to Rome. That is a place of ceremonies and empty show, for which I am nowise qualified. Besides, it would look too much like a submission on your

[16] "Entendant seullement à mez affaires, ne bougeant de ma chambre synon pour proumener, à faire exercice à l'église, et vers Madame, et faisant mes dépesches où je doibtz correspondre, sans bruyct." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. ix. p. 639.

[17] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 326.

[18] "Il lui suffit, pour se contenter d'être où il est, de savoir que c'est la volonté du Roi, et cela lui suffira pour aller aux Indes, ou en quelque autre lieu que ce soit, et même pour se jeter dans le feu." Ibid., p. 301.

part. My diocese of Mechlin has need of me; now, if I should go to Spain, it would look as if I went to procure the aid which it so much requires." [19] But the cabinet of Madrid were far from desiring the presence of so cunning a statesman to direct the royal counsels. The orders were reiterated to go to Rome. To Rome, accordingly, the reluctant minister went; and we have a letter from him to the king, dated from that capital, the first of February, 1566, in which he counsels his master by no means to think of introducing the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands.[20] It might seem as if, contrary to the proverb, change of climate had wrought some change in the disposition of the cardinal. From this period, Granvelle, so long the terror of the Low Countries, disappears from the management of their affairs. He does not, however, disappear from the political theatre. We shall again meet with the able and ambitious prelate, first as viceroy of Naples, and afterwards at Madrid occupying the highest station in the councils of his sovereign.

Early in July, 1565, the commission of reform appointed by Philip transmitted its report to Spain. It recommended no change in the present laws, except so far as to authorize the judges to take into consideration the age and sex of the accused, and in case of penitence to commute the capital punishment of the convicted heretic for banishment. Philip approved of the report in all particulars,—except the only particular that

[19] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 380.
[20] Ibid., p. 396.

involved a change, that of mercy to the penitent heretic.[21]

At length the king resolved on such an absolute declaration of his will as should put all doubts on the matter at rest and relieve him from further importunity. On the seventeenth of October, 1565, he addressed that memorable letter to his sister from the Wood of Segovia, which may be said to have determined the fate of the Netherlands. Philip, in this, intimates his surprise that his letters should appear to Egmont inconsistent with what he had heard from his lips at Madrid. His desire was not for novelty in any thing. He would have the Inquisition conducted by the inquisitors, as it had hitherto been, and as by right, divine and human, belonged to them.[22] For the edicts, it was no time in the present state of religion to make any change; both his own and those of his father must be executed. The Anabaptists —a sect for which, as the especial butt of persecution, much intercession had been made—must be dealt with according to the rigor of the law. Philip concluded by conjuring the regent and the lords in the council faithfully to obey his commands, as in so doing they would render the greatest service to the cause of religion and of their country,—which last, he adds, without the execution of these ordinances, would be of little worth.[23]

[21] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 372.—Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 57.

[22] "Car, quant à l'inquisition, mon intention est qu'elle se face par les inquisiteurs, comm'elle s'est faicte jusques à maintenant, et comm'il leur appertient par droitz divins et humains." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i., "Rapport," p. cxxix., note.

[23] Ibid., ubi supra.

In a private letter to the regent of nearly the same date with these public despatches, Philip speaks of the proposed changes in the council of state as a subject on which he had not made up his mind.[24] He notices also the proposed convocation of the states-general as a thing, in the present disorders of the country, altogether inexpedient.[25] Thus the king's despatches covered nearly all the debatable ground on which the contest had been so long going on between the crown and the country. There could be no longer any complaint of ambiguity or reserve in the expression of the royal will. "God knows," writes Viglius, "what wry faces were made in the council on learning the absolute will of his majesty!" [26] There was not one of its members, not even the president of Barlaimont, who did not feel the necessity of bending to the tempest so far as to suspend, if not to mitigate, the rigor of the law. They looked to the future with gloomy apprehension. Viglius strongly urged that the despatches should not be made public till some further communication should be had with Philip to warn him of the consequences. In this he was opposed by the prince of Orange. "It was too late," he said, "to talk of

[24] This letter was dated the twentieth of October. All hesitation seems to have vanished in a letter addressed to Granvelle only two days after, in which Philip says, "As to the proposed changes in the government, there is not a question about them." "Quant aux changements qu'on lui a écrit devoir se faire dans le gouvernement, il n'en est pas question." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 375.

[25] Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 333.

[26] Dieu sçait qué visaiges ils ont monstrez, et qué mescontentement ils ont, voyans l'absolute volunté du Roy." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 442.

what was expedient to be done. Since the will of his majesty was so unequivocally expressed, all that remained for the government was to execute it." [27] In vain did Viglius offer to take the whole responsibility of the delay on himself. William's opinion, supported by Egmont and Hoorne, prevailed with the regent, too timid, by such an act of disobedience, to hazard the displeasure of her brother. As, late in the evening, the council broke up, William was heard to exclaim, " Now we shall see the beginning of a fine tragedy! " [28]

In the month of December, the regent caused copies of the despatches, with extracts from the letters to herself, to be sent to the governors and the councils of the several provinces, with orders that they should see to their faithful execution. Officers, moreover, were to be appointed, whose duty it was to ascertain the manner in which these orders were fulfilled, and to report thereon to the government.

The result was what had been foreseen. The publication of the despatches—to borrow the words of a Flemish writer—created a sensation throughout the country little short of what would have been caused by a declaration of war.[29] Under every discouragement, men had flattered themselves, up to this period, with the expectation of

[27] Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 59.

[28] " Quâ conclusione acceptâ, Princeps Auriacencis cuidam in aurem dixit (qui pòst id retulit) quasi lætus gloriabundusque: visuros nos brevi egregiæ tragediæ initium." Vita Viglii, p. 45.

[29] " Une déclaration de guerre n'aurait pas fait plus d'impression sur les esprits, que ces dépêches, quand la cònnaissance en parvint au public." Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 94.

some change for the better. The constantly increasing number of the Reformers, the persevering resistance to the Inquisition, the reiterated remonstrances to the government, the general persuasion that the great nobles, even the regent, were on their side, had all combined to foster the hope that toleration, to some extent, would eventually be conceded by Philip.[30] This hope was now crushed. Whatever doubts had been entertained were dispelled by these last despatches, which came like a hurricane, sweeping away the mists that had so long blinded the eyes of men, and laying open the policy of the crown, clear as day, to the dullest apprehension. The people passed to the extremity of despair. The Spanish Inquisition, with its train of horrors, seemed to be already in the midst of them. They called to mind all the tales of woe they had heard of it. They recounted the atrocities perpetrated by the Spaniards in the New World, which, however erroneously, they charged on the Holy Office. "Do they expect," they cried, "that we shall tamely wait here, like the wretched Indians, to be slaughtered by millions?"[31] Men were

[30] "Se comienza á dar esperanza al pueblo de la libertad de conciencia, de las mudanzas del gobierno." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.—"Some demand a mitigation of the edicts; others," as Viglius peevishly complains to Granvelle, "say that they want at least as much toleration as is vouchsafed to Christians by the Turks, who do not persecute the enemies of their faith as we persecute brethren of our own faith for a mere difference in the interpretation of Scripture!" (Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. i. p. 287.) Viglius was doubtless of the opinion of M. Gerlache, that for Philip to have granted toleration would have proved the signal for a general massacre. Vide Hist. du Royaume des Pays-Bas, tom. i. p. 83.

[31] "On défiait les Espagnols de trouver aux Pays-Bas ces stupides Américains et ces misérables habitans du Pérou, qu'on avait égorgés

seen gathered into knots, in the streets and public squares, discussing the conduct of the government, and gloomily talking of secret associations and foreign alliances. Meetings were stealthily held in the woods, and in the suburbs of the great towns, where the audience listened to fanatical preachers, who, while discussing the doctrines of religious reform, darkly hinted at resistance. Tracts were printed, and widely circulated, in which the reciprocal obligations of lord and vassal were treated, and the right of resistance was maintained; and in some instances these difficult questions were handled with decided ability. A more common form was that of satire and scurrilous lampoon, —a favorite weapon with the early Reformers. Their satirical sallies were levelled indifferently at the throne and the Church. The bishops were an obvious mark. No one was spared. Comedies were written to ridicule the clergy. Never since the discovery of the art of printing—more than a century before—had the press been turned into an engine of such political importance as in the earlier stages of the revolution in the Netherlands. Thousands of the seditious pamphlets thus thrown off were rapidly circulated among a people the humblest of whom possessed what many a noble in other lands, at that day, was little skilled in,—the art of reading. Placards were nailed to the doors of the magistrates, in some of the cities, proclaiming that Rome stood in need of her Brutus. Others were attached to the gates of Orange and

par millions, quand on avait vu qu'ils ne savaient pas se défendre." Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. i. p. 97.

Egmont, calling on them to come forth and save their country.[32]

Margaret was filled with alarm at these signs of disaffection throughout the land. She felt the ground trembling beneath her. She wrote again and again to Philip, giving full particulars of the state of the public sentiment, and the seditious spirit which seemed on the verge of insurrection. She intimated her wish to resign the government.[33] She besought him to allow the states-general to be summoned, and, at all events, to come in person and take the reins from her hands, too weak to hold them. Philip coolly replied that he was sorry the despatches from Segovia had given such offence. They had been designed only for the service of God and the good of the country." [34]

In this general fermentation, a new class of men came on the stage, important by their numbers, though they had taken no part as yet in political affairs. These were the lower nobility of the country, men of honorable descent, and many of them allied by blood or marriage with the highest nobles of the land. They were too often men of dilapidated fortunes, fallen into decay through their own prodigality or that of their progenitors. Many had received their education abroad, some in

[32] See a letter of Morillon to Granvelle, January 27th, 1566, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 22.

[33] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 390.

[34] "Il a appris avec peine que le contenu de sa lettre, datée du bois de Ségovie, a été mal accueilli aux Pays-Bas, ses intentions ne tendant qu'au service de Dieu et au bien de ces États, comme l'amour qu'il leur porte l'y oblige." Ibid., p. 400.

Geneva, the home of Calvin, where they naturally imbibed the doctrines of the great Reformer. In needy circumstances, with no better possession than the inheritance of honorable traditions or the memory of better days, they were urged by a craving, impatient spirit, which naturally made them prefer any change to the existing order of things. They were, for the most part, bred to arms, and in the days of Charles the Fifth had found an ample career opened to their ambition under the imperial banners. But Philip, with less policy than his father, had neglected to court this class of his subjects, who, without fixed principles or settled motives of action, seemed to float on the surface of events, prepared to throw their weight, at any moment, into the scale of revolution.

Some twenty of these cavaliers, for the most part young men, met together in the month of November, in Brussels, at the house of Count Culemborg,* a nobleman attached to the Protestant opinions. Their avowed purpose was to listen to the teachings of a Flemish divine, named Junius, a man of parts and learning, who had been educated in the school of Calvin, and who, having returned to the Netherlands, exercised, under the very eye of the regent, the dangerous calling of the missionary. At this meeting of the discontented nobles the talk naturally turned on the evils of the land and the best means of remedying them. The result of the conferences was the formation of a

* [The proper orthography of this name is *Kuilenburg;* but, like some other Dutch and Flemish names connected with the history of this period, it has become familiar to English readers in the form used by French authorities.—K.]

league, the principal objects of which are elaborately set forth in a paper known as the "Compromise." [35]

This celebrated document declares that the king had been induced by evil counsellors,—for the most part foreigners,—in violation of his oath, to establish the Inquisition in the country; a tribunal opposed to all law, divine and human, surpassing in barbarity anything ever yet practised by tyrants,[36] tending to bring the land to utter ruin, and the inhabitants to a state of miserable bondage. The confederates, therefore, in order not to become the prey of those who, under the name of religion, seek only to enrich themselves at the expense of life and property,[37] bind themselves by a solemn oath to resist the establishment of the Inquisition, under whatever form it may be introduced, and to protect each other against it with their lives and fortunes. In doing this, they protest that, so far from intending anything to the dishonor of the

[35] Historians have usually referred the origin of the "Union" to a meeting of nine nobles at Breda, as reported by Strada. (De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 208.) But we have the testimony of Junius himself to the fact, as stated in the text; and this testimony is accepted by Groen, who treads with a caution that secures him a good footing even in the slippery places of history. (See Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 2.) Brandt also adopts the report of Junius. (Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 162.)

[36] "Inique et contraire à toutes loix divines et humaines, surpassant la plus grande barbarie que oncques fut practiquée entre les tirans." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 3.—One might imagine that the confederates intended in the first part of this sentence to throw the words of Philip back upon himself,—"comme il leur appertient par droitz divins et humains." Dépêche du Bois de Ségovie, October 17th, 1565.

[37] "Affin de n'estre exposéz en proye à ceulx qui, soubs ombre de religion, voudroient s'enrichir aux despens de nostre sang et de nos biens." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 4.

king, their only intent is to maintain the king in his estate, and to preserve the tranquillity of the realm. They conclude with solemnly invoking the blessing of the Almighty on this their lawful and holy confederation.

Such are some of the principal points urged in this remarkable instrument, in which little mention is made of the edicts, every other grievance being swallowed up in that of the detested Inquisition. Indeed, the translations of the "Compromise," which soon appeared, in various languages, usually bore the title of "League of the Nobles of Flanders against the Spanish Inquisition." [38]

It will hardly be denied that those who signed this instrument had already made a decided move in the game of rebellion. They openly arrayed themselves against the execution of the law and the authority of the crown. They charged the king with having violated his oath, and they accused him of abetting a persecution which, under the pretext of religion, had no other object than the spoil of its victims. It was of little moment that all this was done under professions of loyalty. Such professions are the decent cover with which the first approaches are always made in a revolution. The copies of the instrument differ somewhat from each other. One of these, before me, as if to give the edge of personal insult to their remonstrance, classes in the same category "the vagabond, the priest, and the *Spaniard*." [39]

[38] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 134.

[39] "De sorte que si un Prestre, un Espagnol, ou quelque mauvais garnement veut mal, ou nuyre à autruy, par le moyen de l'Inquisi-

Among the small company who first subscribed the document we find names that rose to eminence in the stormy scenes of the revolution. There was Count Louis of Nassau, a younger brother of the prince of Orange, the "*bon chevalier*," as William used to call him,—a title well earned by his generous spirit and many noble and humane qualities. Louis was bred a Lutheran, and was zealously devoted to the cause of reform when his brother took but a comparatively languid interest in it. His ardent, precipitate temper was often kept in check, and more wisely directed, by the prudent counsels of William; while he amply repaid his brother by his devoted attachment, and by the zeal and intrepidity with which he carried out his plans. Louis, indeed, might be called the right hand of William.

Another of the party was Philip de Marnix, lord of St. Aldegonde. He was the intimate friend of William of Orange. In the words of a Belgian writer, he was one of the beautiful characters of the time;[40] distinguished alike as a soldier, a statesman, and a scholar. It is to his pen that the composition of the "Compromise" has generally been assigned. Some critics have found its tone inconsistent with the sedate and tranquil character of his mind. Yet St. Aldegonde's device, "*Repos ailleurs*,"[41] would seem to indicate a fervid imagination and an impatient spirit of activity.

tion, il pourra l'accuser, faire apprehender, voire faire mourir, soit à droit, soit à tort." Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 300.

[40] "L'un des beaux caractères de ce temps." Borguet, Philippe II. et la Belgique, p. 43.

[41] Ibid., ubi supra.

But the man who seems to have entered most heartily into these first movements of the revolution was Henry, viscount of Brederode. He sprang from an ancient line, boasting his descent from the counts of Holland. The only possession that remained to him, the lordship of Viana, he still claimed to hold as independent of the king of Spain or any other potentate. His patrimony had been wasted in a course of careless indulgence, and little else was left than barren titles and pretensions,—which, it must be owned, he was not diffident in vaunting. He was fond of convivial pleasures, and had a free, reckless humor, that took with the people, to whom he was still more endeared by his sturdy hatred of oppression. Brederode was, in short, one of those busy, vaporing characters who make themselves felt at the outset of a revolution, but are soon lost in the course of it; like those ominous birds which with their cries and screams herald in the tempest that soon sweeps them out of sight forever.

Copies of the "Compromise," with the names attached to it, were soon distributed through all parts of the country, and eagerly signed by great numbers, not merely of the petty nobility and gentry, but of substantial burghers and wealthy merchants, men who had large interests at stake in the community. Hames, king-at-arms of the Golden Fleece, who was a zealous confederate, boasted that the names of two thousand such persons were on his paper.[42] Among them were many Roman Catholics; and we are again called to

[42] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 209.

notice that in the outset this Protestant revolution received important support from the Catholics themselves, who forgot all religious differences in a common hatred of arbitrary power.

Few, if any, of the great nobles seem to have been among the number of those who signed the "Compromise,"—certainly none of the council of state. It would hardly have done to invite one of the royal councillors—in other words, one of the government—to join the confederacy, when they would have been bound by the obligations of their office to disclose it to the regent. But if the great lords did not become actual parties to the league, they showed their sympathy with the object of it, by declining to enforce the execution of the laws against which it was directed. On the twenty-fourth of January, 1566, the prince of Orange addressed, from Breda, a letter to the regent, on the occasion of her sending him the despatches from Segovia for the rule of his government in the provinces. In this remarkable letter, William exposes, with greater freedom than he was wont, his reasons for refusing to comply with the royal orders. "I express myself freely and frankly," he says, "on a topic on which I have not been consulted; but I do so lest by my silence I may incur the responsibility of the mischief that must ensue." He then briefly, and in a decided tone, touches on the evils of the Inquisition,—introduced, as he says, contrary to the repeated pledges of the king, —and on the edicts. Great indulgence had been of late shown in the interpretation of these latter; and to revive them on a sudden, so as to execute

them with their ancient rigor, would be most disastrous. There could not be a worse time than the present, when the people were sorely pressed by scarcity of food, and in a critical state from the religious agitations on their borders. It might cost the king his empire in the Netherlands, and throw it into the hands of his neighbors.[43]

"For my own part," he concludes, "if his majesty insists on the execution of these measures, rather than incur the stain which must rest on me and my house by attempting it, I will resign my office into the hands of some one better acquainted with the humors of the people, and who will be better able to maintain order in the country."[44]

In the same tone several of the other provincial governors replied to Margaret, declaring that they could never coolly stand by and see fifty or sixty thousand of their countrymen burned to death for errors of religion.[45] The regent was sorely perplexed by this desertion of the men on whom she most relied. She wrote to them in a strain of expostulation, and besought the prince, in particular, not to add to the troubles of the time by abandon-

[43] "Mettant le tout en hazard de venir ès mains de nos voisins." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 109.

[44] "J'aimerois mieulx, en cas que Sadicte Majesté ne le veuille dilaier jusques à là, et dès à présent persiste sur cette inquisition et exécution, qu'elle commisse quelque autre en ma place, mieulx entendant les humeurs du peuple, et plus habile que moi à les maintenir en paix et repos, plustost que d'encourir la note dont moi et les miens porrions estre souillés, si quelque inconvénient advint au pays de mon gouvernement, et durant ma charge." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 109.

[45] "Addidere aliqui, nolle se in id operam conferre, ut quinquaginta aut sexaginta hominum millia, se Provincias administrantibus, igni concrementur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 203.

ing his post, where the attachment of the people gave him such unbounded influence.[46]

The agitations of the country, in the mean time, continued to increase. There was a scarcity of bread,—so often the forerunner of revolution,—and this article had risen to an enormous price. The people were menaced with famine, which might have led to serious consequences, but for a temporary relief from Spain.[47]

Rumors now began to be widely circulated of the speedy coming of Philip, with a large army, to chastise his vassals; and the rumors gained easy credit with those who felt they were already within the pale of rebellion. Duke Eric of Brunswick was making numerous levies on the German borders, and it was generally believed that their destination was Flanders. It was in vain that Margaret, who ascertained the falsehood of the report, endeavored to undeceive the people.[48]

A short time previously, in the month of June, an interview had taken place, at Bayonne, between the queen-mother, Catherine de Medicis, and her daughter, Isabella of Spain. Instead of her husband, Isabella was accompanied at this interview by the counsellor in whom he most trusted, the duke of Alva. The two queens were each attended by a splendid retinue of nobles. The meeting was prolonged for several days, amidst a succession of balls, tourneys, and magnificent banquets, at which the costly dress and equipage of the French no-

[46] Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 112.
[47] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 378.
[48] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 33.

bility contrasted strangely enough with the no less ostentatious simplicty of the Spaniards. This simplicity, so contrary to the usual pomp of the Castilian, was in obedience to the orders of Philip, who, foreseeing the national emulation, forbade the indulgence of it at a foolish cost, which in the end was severely felt by the shattered finances of France.

Amid the brilliant pageants which occupied the public eye, secret conferences were daily carried on between Catherine and the duke of Alva. The results were never published, but enough found its way into the light to show that the principal object was the extermination of heresy in France and the Netherlands. The queen-mother was for milder measures,—though slower not less sure. But the iron-hearted duke insisted that to grant liberty of conscience was to grant unbounded license. The only way to exterminate the evil was by fire and sword! It was on this occasion that, when Catherine suggested that it was easier to deal with the refractory commons than with the nobles, Alva replied, "True, but ten thousand frogs are not worth the head of a single salmon," [49]—an ominous simile, which was afterwards remembered against its author when he ruled over the Netherlands.[50]

[49] "A ce propos le duc d'Albe répondit que dix mille grenouilles ne valoient pas la tête d'un saumon." Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. xviii. p. 447.—Davila, in telling the same story, reports the saying of the duke in somewhat different words: "Diseva che . . . besognava pescare i pesci grossi, e non si curare di prendere le ranocchie." Guerre civili di Francia (Milano, 1807), tom. i. p. 341.

[50] Henry the Fourth, when a boy of eleven years of age, was in the train of Catherine, and was present at one of her interviews with

The report of these dark conferences had reached the Low Countries, where it was universally believed that the object of them was to secure the co-operation of France in crushing the liberties of Flanders.[51]

In the panic thus spread throughout the country, the more timid or prudent, especially of those who dwelt in the seaports, began to take measures for avoiding these evils by emigration. They sought refuge in Protestant states, and especially in England, where no less than thirty thousand, we

Alva. It is said that he overheard the words of the duke quoted in the text, and that they sank deep into the mind of the future champion of Protestantism. Henry reported them to his mother, Jeanne d'Albret, by whom they were soon made public. Sismondi, Hist. des Français, tom. xviii. p. 447.—For the preceding paragraph see also De Thou, Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 34, et seq.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vi. cap. 23.—Brantôme, Œuvres, tom. v. p. 58, et seq.

[51] It is a common opinion that at the meeting at Bayonne it was arranged between the queen-mother and Alva to revive the tragedy of the Sicilian Vespers in the horrid massacre of St. Bartholomew. I find, however, no warrant for such an opinion in the letters of either the duke or Don Juan Manrique de Lara, major-domo to Queen Isabella, the originals of which are still preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. In my copy of these MSS. the letters of Alva to Philip the Second cover much the largest space. They are very minute in their account of his conversation with the queen-mother. His great object seems to have been to persuade her to abandon her temporizing policy, and, instead of endeavoring to hold the balance between the contending parties, to assert, in the most uncompromising manner, the supremacy of the Roman Catholics. He endeavored to fortify her in this course by the example of his own master, the king of Spain, repeating Philip's declaration, so often quoted, under various forms, that "he would surrender his kingdom, nay, life itself, rather than reign over heretics." While the duke earnestly endeavored to overcome the arguments of Catherine de Medicis in favor of a milder, more rational, and, it may be added, more politic course in reference to the Huguenots, he cannot justly be charged with having directly recommended those atrocious measures which have branded her name with infamy. Yet, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that this bloody catastrophe was a legitimate result of the policy which he advised.

are told by a contemporary, took shelter under the sceptre of Elizabeth.[52] They swarmed in the cities of London and Sandwich, and the politic queen assigned them also the seaport of Norwich * as their residence. Thus Flemish industry was transferred to English soil. The course of trade between the two nations now underwent a change. The silk and woollen stuffs which had formerly been sent from Flanders to England became the staple of a large export-trade from England to Flanders. "The Low Countries," writes the correspondent of Granvelle, "are the Indies of the English, who make war on our purses, as the French, some years since, made war on our towns." [53]

Some of the Flemish provinces, instead of giving way to despondency, appealed sturdily to their charters, to rescue them from the arbitrary measures of the crown. The principal towns of Brabant, with Antwerp at their head, intrenched themselves behind their *Joyeuse Entrée*. The question was brought before the council; a decree was given in favor of the applicants, and ratified by

[52] "On voit journellement gens de ce pays aller en Angleterre, avec leurs familles et leurs instruments; et jà Londres, Zandvich et le pays allenviron est si plain, que l'on dit que le nombre surpasse 30,000 testes." Assonleville to Granvelle, January 15th, 1565, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 392.

[53] "Il y a longtemps que ces Païs-Bas sont les Indes d'Angleterre, et, tant qu'ilz les auront, ilz n'en ont besoing d'aultres." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 382.

* [Sandwich is not a city, † and Norwich, though accessible to vessels of small tonnage, is not a seaport; but in the sixteenth century both places were relatively more important than they now are, and had a direct trade with Antwerp.—K.]

† [Sandwich was one of the Cinque Ports.—M.]

the regent; and the free soil of Brabant was no longer polluted by the presence of the Inquisition.[54]

The gloom now became deeper round the throne of the regent. Of all in the Netherlands the person least to be envied was the one who ruled over them. Weaned from her attachment to Granvelle by the influence of the lords, Margaret now found herself compelled to resume the arbitrary policy which she disapproved, and to forfeit the support of the very party to which of late she had given all her confidence. The lords in the council withdrew from her, the magistrates in the provinces thwarted her, and large masses of the population were arrayed in actual resistance against the government. It may seem strange that it was not till the spring of 1566 that she received positive tidings of the existence of the league, when she was informed of it by Egmont and some others of the council of state.[55] As usual, the rumor went beyond the truth. Twenty or thirty thousand men were said to be in arms, and half that number to be prepared to march on Brussels and seize the person of the regent, unless she complied with their demands.[56]

For a moment Margaret thought of taking refuge in the citadel. But she soon rallied, and showed the spirit to have been expected in the daughter of Charles the Fifth. She ordered the garrisons to be strengthened in the fortresses

[54] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, tom. i. fol. 39, 40.—Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 17.

[55] Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 293.

[56] Ibid., ubi supra.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 212.

throughout the country. She summoned the companies of *ordonnance* to the capital, and caused them to renew their oaths of fidelity to the king. She wrote to the Spanish ministers at the neighboring courts, informing them of the league, and warned them to allow no aid to be sent to it from the countries where they resided. Finally, she called a meeting of the knights of the Golden Fleece and the council of state, for the twenty-seventh of March, to deliberate on the perilous situation of the country. Having completed these arrangements, the duchess wrote to her brother, informing him exactly of the condition of things and suggesting what seemed to her counsellors the most effectual remedy. She wrote the more freely, as her love of power had yielded to a sincere desire to extricate herself from the trials and troubles which attended it.[57]

There were but two courses, she said, force or concession.[58] The former, to say nothing of the ruin it would bring on the land, was rendered difficult by want of money to pay the troops, and by the want of trustworthy officers to command them. Concessions must consist in abolishing the Inquisition,—a useless tribunal where sectaries swarmed openly in the cities,—in modifying the edicts, and in granting a free pardon to all who had signed the Compromise, provided they would return to their duty.[59] On these terms, the lords of the

[57] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 402.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 212.—Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 132.

[58] Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 294.

[59] "Ostant l'Inquisition, qui en ce temps est tant odieuse . . . et ne sert quasi de riens, pour estre les Sectaires assez cognuz; moderant

council were willing to guarantee the obedience of the people. At all events, they promised Margaret their support in enforcing it. She would not express her own preference for either of the alternatives presented to Philip, but would faithfully execute his commands, whatever they might be, to the best of her ability. Without directly expressing her preference, it was pretty clear on which side it lay. Margaret concluded by earnestly beseeching her brother to return an immediate answer to her despatches by the courier who bore them.

The person who seems to have enjoyed the largest share of Margaret's confidence, at this time, was Egmont. He remained at Brussels, and still kept his seat in the council, after William had withdrawn to his estates in Breda. Yet the prince, although he had left Brussels in disgust, had not taken part with the confederates, much less—as was falsely rumored, and to his great annoyance—put himself at their head.[60] His brother, it is true, and some of his particular friends, had joined the league. But Louis declares that he did so without the knowledge of William. When the latter, a fortnight afterwards, learned the existence of the league, he ex-

quant et quant la rigeur des Placcarts; . . . publiant aussy quant et quant pardon general pour ceulx qui se sont meslez de laditte Ligue." Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 295.

[60] "Le Prince d'Oranges et le Comte de Hornes disoyent en plain conseil qu'ils estoyent d'intention de se voulloir retirer en leurs maisons, . . . se deuillans mesmes le dit Prince, que l'on le tenoit pour suspect et pour chief de ceste Confédération." Extract from the Procès d'Egmont, in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 42.

pressed his entire disapprobation of it.[61] He even used his authority, we are told, to prevent the confederates from resorting to some violent measures, among others the seizure of Antwerp, promising that he would aid them to accomplish their ends in a more orderly way.[62] What he desired was to have the states-general called together by the king. But he would not assume a hostile attitude, like that of the confederates, to force him into this unpalatable measure.[63] When convened, he would have had the legislature, without transcending its constitutional limits, remonstrate, and lay the grievances of the nation before the throne.

This temperate mode of proceeding did not suit the hot blood of the younger confederates. "Your brother," writes Hames to Louis, "is too slow and lukewarm. He would have us employ only remonstrance against these hungry wolves; against enemies who do nothing in return but behead, and banish, and burn us. We are to do the

[61] "De laquelle estant advertis quelques quinze jours après, devant que les confédérés se trouvassent en court, nous déclarames ouvertement et rondement qu'elle ne nous plaisoit pas, et que ce ne nous sambloit estre le vray moyen pour maintenir le repos et tranquillité publique." Extract from the "Justification" of William (1567), in the Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 11.

[62] This fact rests on the authority of a MS. ascribed to Junius. (Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 162.) Groen, however, distrusts the authenticity of this MS. (Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 12.) Yet, whatever may be thought of the expedition against Antwerp, it appears from William's own statement that the confederates did meditate some dangerous enterprise, from which he dissuaded them. See his "Apology," in Dumont, Corps diplomatique, tom. v. p. 392.

[63] "Les estatz-généraulx ayans pleine puissance, est le seul remède à nos maulx; nous avons le moyen en nostre povoir sans aucune doubte de les faire assembler, mais on ne veult estre guéri." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 37.

talking, and they the acting. We must fight with the pen, while they fight with the sword." [64]

The truth was, that William was not possessed of the fiery zeal which animated most of the Reformers. In his early years, as we have seen, he had been subjected to the influence of the Protestant religion at one period, and of the Roman Catholic at another. If the result of this had been to beget in him something like a philosophical indifference to the great questions in dispute, it had proved eminently favorable to a spirit of toleration. He shrank from that system of persecution which proscribed men for their religious opinions. Soon after the arrival of the despatches from Segovia, William wrote to a friend, "The king orders not only obstinate heretics, but even the penitent, to be put to death. I know not how I can endure this. It does not seem to me to be acting in a Christian manner." [65] In another letter he says, "I greatly fear these despatches will drive men into rebellion. I should be glad, if I could, to save my country from ruin, and so many innocent persons from slaughter. But when I say anything in the council I am sure to be misinterpreted.

[64] "Ils veullent que à l'obstination et endurcissement de ces loups affamez nous opposions remonstrances, requestes et en fin parolles, là où de leur costé ils ne cessent de brusler, coupper testes, bannir et exercer leur rage en toutes façons. Nous avons le moyen de les refrener sans trouble, sans difficulté, sans effusion de sang, sans guerre, et on ne le veult. Soit donques, prenons la plume et eux l'espée, nous les parolles, eux le faict." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 36.

[65] "Ire Mat. gar ernstlich bevelt das man nitt allain die sich in andere leren so begeben, sol verbrennen, sonder auch die sich widderumb bekeren, sol koppen lasen; welges ich wahrlich im hertzen hab gefült, dan bei mir nit finden kan das cristlich noch thunlich ist." Ibid., tom. i. p. 440.

So I am greatly perplexed; since speech and silence are equally bad." [66]

Acting with his habitual caution, therefore, he spoke little, and seldom expressed his sentiments in writing. "The less one puts in writing," he said to his less prudent brother, "the better." [67] Yet when the occasion demanded it he did not shrink from a plain avowal of his sentiments, both in speaking and writing. Such was the speech he delivered in council before Egmont's journey to Spain; and in the same key was the letter which he addressed to the regent on receiving the despatches from Segovia. But, whatever might be his reserve, his real opinions were not misunderstood. He showed them too plainly by his actions. When Philip's final instructions were made known to him by Margaret, the prince, as he had before done under Granvelle, ceased to attend the meetings of the council, and withdrew from Brussels.[68] He met in Breda, and afterwards in Hoogstraten, in the spring of 1566, a number of the principal nobles, under cover, as usual, of a banquet. Discussions took place on the state of the country, and some of the confederates who were present at the former place were for more violent measures than William approved. As he could not bring them over to his own temperate policy, he acquiesced in the draft of a petition, which, as we shall see in the ensuing chapter, was presented to the regent.[69]

[66] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 30.

[67] Ibid., tom. i. p. 432.

[68] Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 67.

[69] "Tant y a que craignant qu'il n'en suivit une très dangereuse issue et estimant que cette voye estoit la plus douce et vrayment

On the whole, up to the period at which we are arrived, the conduct of the prince of Orange must be allowed to have been wise and consistent. In some respects it forms a contrast to that of his more brilliant rival, Count Egmont.

This nobleman was sincerely devoted to the Roman Catholic faith. He was stanch in his loyalty to the king. At the same time he was ardently attached to his country, and felt a generous indignation at the wrongs she suffered from her rulers. Thus Egmont was acted on by opposite feelings; and, as he was a man of impulse, his conduct, as he yielded sometimes to the one and sometimes to the other of these influences, might be charged with inconsistency. None charged him with insincerity.

There was that in Egmont's character which early led the penetrating Granvelle to point him out to Philip as a man who by politic treatment might be secured to the royal cause.[70] Philip and his sister, the regent, both acted on this hint. They would hardly have attempted as much with William. Egmont's personal vanity made him more accessible to their approaches. It was this, perhaps, quite as much as any feeling of loyalty, which, notwithstanding the affront put on him, as he conceived, by the king, induced him to remain at Brussels and supply the place in the counsels of

juridique, je confesse n'avoir trouvé mauvais que la Requeste fut presentée." Apology, in Dumont, tom. v. p. 392.

[70] "He escripto diversas vezes que era bien ganar á M. d'Aigmont; él es de quien S. M. puede hechar mano y confiar mas que de todos los otros, y es amigo de humo, y haziéndole algun favor extraordinario señalado que no se haga á otros, demas que será ganarle mucho, pondrá zelos á los otros." Granvelle to Gonzalo Perez, June 27th, 1563, Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vii. p. 115.

the regent which William had left vacant. Yet we find one of Granvelle's correspondents speaking of Egmont as too closely united with the lords to be detached from them. "To say truth," says the writer, "he even falters in his religion; and whatever he may say to-day on this point, he will be sure to say the contrary to-morrow." [71] Such a man, who could not be true to himself, could hardly become the leader of others.

"They put Egmont forward," writes the regent's secretary, "as the boldest, to say what other men dare not say." [72] This was after the despatches had been received. "He complains bitterly," continues the writer, "of the king's insincerity. The prince has more *finesse*. He has also more credit with the nation. If you could gain him, you will secure all." [73] Yet Philip did not try to gain him. With all his wealth, he was not rich enough to do it. He knew this, and he hated William with the hatred which a despotic monarch naturally bears to a vassal of such a temper. He perfectly understood the character of William. The nation understood it, too; and, with all their admiration for the generous qualities of Egmont, it was to his greater rival that they looked to guide them in the coming struggle of the revolution.

[71] "Il est tant lyé avec les Seigneurs, qu'il n'y a moien de le retirer, et pour dire vray, *nutat in religione*, et ce qu'il dira en ce aujourd'huy, il dira tout le contraire lendemain." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 25.

[72] "Ce seigneur est à présent celui qui parle le plus, et que les autres mettent en avant, pour dire les choses qu'ils n'oseraient dire eux-mêmes." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 391.

[73] "Le prince d'Orange procède avec plus de finesse que M. d'Egmont: il a plus de crédit en général et en particulier, et, si l'on pouvait le gagner, on s'assurerait de tout le reste." Ibid., ubi supra.

CHAPTER X

THE CONFEDERATES

Designs of the Confederates—They enter Brussels—The Petition—The Gueux

1566

THE party of the malecontents in the Netherlands comprehended persons of very different opinions, who were by no means uniformly satisfied with the reasonable objects proposed by the Compromise. Some demanded entire liberty of conscience. Others would not have stopped short of a revolution that would enable the country to shake off the Spanish yoke. And another class of men without principle of any kind—such as are too often thrown up in strong political fermentations—looked to these intestine troubles as offering the means of repairing their own fortunes out of the wreck of their country's. Yet, with the exception of the last, there were few who would not have been content to accept the Compromise as the basis of their demands.

The winter had passed away, however, and the confederacy had wrought no change in the conduct of the government. Indeed, the existence of the confederacy would not appear to have been known to the regent till the latter part of February, 1566. It was not till the close of the following month

that it was formally disclosed to her by some of the great lords.[1] If it was known to her before, Margaret must have thought it prudent to affect ignorance till some overt action on the part of the league called for her notice.

It became then a question with members of the league what was next to be done. It was finally resolved to present a petition in the name of the whole body to the regent, a measure which, as already intimated, received the assent, if not the approbation, of the prince of Orange. The paper was prepared, as it would seem, in William's own house at Brussels, by his brother Louis, and was submitted, we are told, to the revision of the prince, who thus had it in his power to mitigate, in more than one instance, the vehemence, or rather violence, of the expressions.[2]

To give greater effect to the petition, it was determined that a large deputation from the league should accompany its presentation to the regent. Notice was given to four hundred of the confederates to assemble at the beginning of April. They were to come well mounted and armed, prepared at once to proceed to Brussels. Among the number thus enrolled, we find three gentlemen of Margaret's own household, as well as some members of

[1] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 399, 401.

[2] "Libello ab Orangio cæterisque in lenius verborum genus commutato." Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 207.—Alonzo del Canto, the royal *contador*, takes a different and by no means so probable a view of William's amendments: "Quand les seigneurs tenaient leurs assemblées secrètes à Bruxelles, c'était en la maison du prince d'Orange, où ils entraient de nuit par la porte de derrière: ce fut là que la requête des confédérés fut modifiée et rendu pire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 411.

the companies of *ordonnance* commanded by the prince, and by the Counts Egmont and Hoorne, and other great lords.[3]

The duchess, informed of these proceedings, called a meeting of the council of state and the knights of the Golden Fleece, to determine on the course to be pursued. The discussion was animated, as there was much difference of opinion. Some agreed with Count Barlaimont in regarding the measure in the light of a menace. Such a military array could have no other object than to overawe the government, and was an insult to the regent. In the present excited state of the people, it would be attended with the greatest danger to allow their entrance into the capital.[4]

The prince of Orange, who had yielded to Margaret's earnest entreaties that he would attend this meeting, took a different view of the matter. The number of the delegates, he said, only proved the interest taken in the petition. They were men of rank, some of them kinsmen or personal friends of those present. Their characters and position in the country were sufficient sureties that they meditated no violence to the state. They were the representatives of an ancient order of nobility; and it would be strange indeed if they were to be excluded from the right of petition, enjoyed by the humblest individual. In the course of the debate, William made some personal allusions to his own situation, delivering himself with great warmth. His ene-

[3] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 59, et seq.
[4] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 213.

mies, he said, had the royal ear, and would persuade the king to kill him and confiscate his property.[5] He was even looked upon as the head of the confederacy. It was of no use for him to give his opinion in the council, where it was sure to be misinterpreted. All that remained for him was to ask leave to resign his offices and withdraw to his estates.[6] Count Hoorne followed in much the same key, inveighing bitterly against the ingratitude of Philip. The two nobles yielded, at length, so far to Margaret's remonstrances as to give their opinions on the course to be pursued. But when she endeavored to recall them to their duty by reminding them of their oaths to the king, they boldly replied, they would willingly lay down their lives for their country, but would never draw sword for the edicts or the Inquisition.[7] William's views in regard to the admission of the confederates into Brussels were supported by much the greater part of the assembly, and finally prevailed with the regent.

On the third of April, 1566, two hundred of the confederates entered the gates of Brussels. They were on horseback, and each man was furnished with a brace of pistols in his holsters, wearing in other respects only the usual arms of a private gentleman. The Viscount Brederode and Louis

[5] "Homines genti Nassaviæ infensissimos de nece ipsius, deque fortunarum omnium publicatione agitavisse cum Rege." Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 215. See also Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 403.

[6] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 404.

[7] "Ils répondirent qu'ils ne voulaient pas se battre pour le maintien de l'inquisition et des placards, mais qu'ils le feraient pour la conservation du pays." Ibid., ubi supra.

of Nassau rode at their head.[8] They prudently conformed to William's advice, not to bring any foreigners in their train, and to enter the city quietly, without attempting to stir the populace by any military display, or the report of fire-arms.[9] Their coming was welcomed with general joy by the inhabitants, who greeted them as a band of patriots ready to do battle for the liberties of their country. They easily found quarters in the houses of the principal citizens; and Louis and Brederode were lodged in the mansion of the prince of Orange.[10]

On the following day a meeting of the confederates was held at the hotel of Count Culemborg, where they listened to a letter which Brederode had just received from Spain, informing him of the death of Morone, a Flemish nobleman well known to them all, who had perished in the flames of the Inquisition.[11] With feelings exasperated by this gloomy recital, they renewed, in the most solemn manner, their oaths of fidelity to the league. An application was then made to Margaret for leave to lay their petition before her. The day following was assigned for the act; and at noon, on the fifth of April, the whole company walked in solemn procession through the streets of Brussels to the palace of the regent. She received

[8] "Eo ipso die sub vesperam conjurati Bruxellas advenere. Erant illi in equis omnino ducenti, forensi veste ornati, gestabantque singuli bina ante ephippium sclopeta, præibat ductor Brederodius, juxtàque Ludovicus Nassavius." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 221.

[9] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. pp. 74, 75.

[10] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 221.

[11] Ibid., ubi supra.

them, surrounded by the lords, in the great hall adjoining the council-chamber. As they defiled before her, the confederates ranged themselves along the sides of the apartment. Margaret seems to have been somewhat disconcerted by the presence of so martial an array within the walls of her palace. But she soon recovered herself, and received them graciously.[12]

Brederode was selected to present the petition, and he prefaced it by a short address. They had come in such numbers, he said, the better to show their respect to the regent, and the deep interest they took in the cause. They had been accused of opening a correspondence with foreign princes, which he affirmed to be a malicious slander, and boldly demanded to be confronted with the authors of it.[13] Notwithstanding this stout denial, it is very possible the audience did not place implicit confidence in the assertions of the speaker. He then presented the petition to the regent, expressing the hope that she would approve of it, as dictated only by their desire to promote the glory of the king and the good of the country. If this was its object, Margaret replied, she doubted not she should be content with it.[14] The following day was named for them again to wait on her and receive her answer.

[12] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 222, 226.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 138.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 40.

[13] "Nobiles enixi eam rogare, ut proferat nomina eorum qui hoc detulere: cogatque illos accusationem legitimè ac palàm adornare." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 222.

[14] "Quando nonnisi Regis dignitatem, patriæque salutem spectabant, haud dubiè postulatis satisfacturam." Ibid., ubi supra.

The instrument began with a general statement of the distresses of the land, much like that in the Compromise, but couched in more respectful language. The petitioners had hoped that the action of the great lords, or of the states-general, would have led to some reform. But finding these had not moved in the matter, while the evil went on increasing from day to day, until ruin was at the gate, they had come to beseech her highness to lay the subject herself before the king, and implore his majesty to save the country from perdition by the instant abolition of both the Inquisition and the edicts. Far from wishing to dictate laws to their sovereign, they humbly besought her to urge on him the necessity of convoking the states-general and devising with them some effectual remedy for the existing evils. Meanwhile they begged of her to suspend the further execution of the laws in regard to religion until his majesty's pleasure could be known. If their prayer were not granted, they at least were absolved from all responsibility as to the consequences, now that they had done their duty as true and loyal subjects.[15] The business-like character of this document forms a contrast to the declamatory style of the Compromise; and in its temperate tone, particularly, we may fancy we recognize the touches of the more prudent hand of the prince of Orange.

On the sixth, the confederates again assembled

[15] The copy of this document given by Groen is from the papers of Count Louis of Nassau, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. pp. 80–84.

in the palace of the regent, to receive her answer. They were in greater force than before, having been joined by a hundred and fifty of their brethren, who had entered the city the night previous, under the command of Counts Culemborg and Berg. They were received by Margaret in the same courteous manner as on the preceding day, and her answer was made to them in writing, being indorsed on their own petition.

She announced in it her purpose of using all her influence with her royal brother to persuade him to accede to their wishes. They might rely on his doing all that was conformable to his *natural and accustomed benignity*.[16] She had herself, with the advice of her council and the knights of the Golden Fleece, prepared a scheme for moderating the edicts, to be laid before his majesty, which she trusted would satisfy the nation. They must, however, be aware that she herself had no power to suspend the execution of the laws. But she would send instructions to the inquisitors to proceed with all discretion in the exercise of their functions, until they should learn the king's pleasure.[17] She trusted that the confederates would so demean themselves as not to make it necessary to give different orders. All this she had done with the greater readiness, from her conviction that they

[16] "Lesquels ne doibvent espérer, sinon toute chose digne et conforme à *sa bénignité naifve et accoustumée*." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 84.—The phrase must have sounded oddly enough in the ears of the confederates.

[17] "Pendant que s'attend sa responce, Son Alteze donnera ordre, que tant par les inquisiteurs, où il y en a eu jusques ores, que par les officiers respectivement, soit procédé discrètement et modestement." Ibid., p. 85.

had no design to make any innovation in the established religion of the country, but desired rather to uphold it in all its vigor.

To this reply, as gracious in its expressions, and as favorable in its import, as the league could possibly have expected, they made a formal answer in writing, which they presented in a body to the duchess on the eighth of the month. They humbly thanked her for the prompt attention she had given to their petition, but would have been still more contented if her answer had been more full and explicit. They knew the embarrassments under which she labored, and they thanked her for the assurance she had given—which, it may be remarked, she never did give—that all proceedings connected with the Inquisition and the edicts should be stayed until his majesty's pleasure should be ascertained. They were most anxious to conform to whatever the king, *with the advice and consent of the states-general*, duly assembled, should determine in matters of religion;[18] and they would show their obedience by taking such order for their own conduct as should give entire satisfaction to her highness.

To this the duchess briefly replied, that if there were any cause for offence hereafter it would be chargeable not on her, but on them. She prayed the confederates henceforth to desist from their

[18] "Ne desirons sinon d'ensuyvre tout ce que par Sa Mate. avecq l'advis et consentement des éstats-généraulx assambléz serat ordonné pour le maintenement de l'anchienne religion." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 86.

secret practices, and to invite no new member to join their body.[19]

This brief and admonitory reply seems not to have been to the tastes of the petitioners, who would willingly have drawn from Margaret some expression that might be construed into a sanction of their proceedings. After a short deliberation among themselves, they again addressed her by the mouth of one of their own number, the lord of Kerdes. The speaker, after again humbly thanking the regent for her favorable answer, said that it would have given still greater satisfaction to his associates if she would but have declared, in the presence of the great lords assembled, that she took the union of the confederates in good part and for the service of the king;[20] and he concluded with promising that they would henceforth do all in their power to give contentment to her highness.

To all this the duchess simply replied, she had no doubt of it. When again pressed by the persevering deputy to express her opinion of this assembly, she bluntly answered, she could form no judgment in the matter.[21] She gave pretty clear evidence, however, of her real opinion, soon after, by dismissing the three gentlemen of her household

[19] "Vous prians de ne passer plus avant par petites practiques secrètes et de n'attirer plus personne." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 88.

[20] "De bonne part et pour le service du Roy." Ibid., p. 89.

[21] "Et comme ma dite dame respondit qu'elle le croyt ainsy, n'affermant nullement en quelle part elle recevoit nostre assemblée, luy fut replicqué par le dit S^r de Kerdes: Madame, il plairast à V. A. en dire ce qu'elle en sent, à quoy elle respondit qu'elle ne pouvoit juger." Ibid., ubi supra.—See also Strada (De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 225), who, however, despatches this interview with the Seigneur de Kerdes in a couple of sentences.

whom we have mentioned as having joined the league.[22]

As Margaret found that the confederates were not altogether satisfied with her response to their petition, she allowed Count Hoogstraten, one of her councillors, to inform some of them, privately, that she had already written to the provinces to have all processes in affairs of religion stayed until Philip's decision should be known. To leave no room for distrust, the count was allowed to show them copies of the letters.[23]

The week spent by the league in Brussels was a season of general jubilee. At one of the banquets given at Culemborg House, where three hundred confederates were present, Brederode presided. During the repast he related to some of the company, who had arrived on the day after the petition was delivered, the manner in which it had been received by the duchess. She seemed at first disconcerted, he said, by the number of the confederates, but was reassured by Barlaimont, who told her "they were nothing but a crowd of beggars." [24] This greatly incensed some of the company,—with

[22] Count Louis drew up a petition to the duchess, or rather a remonstrance, requesting her to state the motives of this act, that people might not interpret it into a condemnation of their proceedings. To this Margaret replied, with some spirit, that it was her own private affair, and she claimed the right that belonged to every other individual, of managing her own household in her own way.—One will readily believe that Louis did not act by the advice of his brother in this matter. See the correspondence as collected by the diligent Groen, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. pp. 100–105.

[23] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 41.

[24] "Illum quidem, ut Gubernatricis animum firmaret, ita locutum, quasi nihil ei à mendicis ac nebulonibus pertimescendum esset." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 226.

whom, probably, it was too true for a jest. But Brederode, taking it more good-humoredly, said that he and his friends had no objection to the name, since they were ready at any time to become beggars for the service of their king and country.[25] This sally was received with great applause by the guests, who, as they drank to one another, shouted forth, "*Vivent les Gueux!*"—"Long live the beggars!"

Brederode, finding the jest took so well,—an event, indeed, for which he seems to have been prepared,—left the room, and soon returned with a beggar's wallet, and a wooden bowl, such as was used by the mendicant fraternity in the Netherlands. Then, pledging the company in a bumper, he swore to devote his life and fortune to the cause. The wallet and the bowl went round the table; and, as each of the merry guests drank in turn to his confederates, the shout arose of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" until the hall rang with the mirth of the revellers.[26]

It happened that at the time the prince of Orange and the Counts Egmont and Hoorne were passing by on their way to the council. Their attention was attracted by the noise, and they paused a moment, when William, who knew well the temper of the jovial company, proposed that they should go in and endeavor to break up their revels.

[25] "Se verò libenter appellationem illam, quæ ea cumque esset, accipere, ac Regis patriæque causâ Gheusios se mendicosque re ipsâ futuros." Strada, De Bello Belgico, ubi supra.

[26] Strada, De Bello Belgico, ubi supra.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 211.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 149.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 142, et seq.—This last author tells the story with uncommon animation.

"We may have some business of the council to transact with these men this evening," he said, "and at this rate they will hardly be in a condition for it." The appearance of the three nobles gave a fresh impulse to the boisterous merriment of the company; and as the new-comers pledged their friends in the wine-cup, it was received with the same thundering acclamations of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" [27] This incident, of so little importance in itself, was afterwards made of consequence by the turn that was given to it in the prosecution of the two unfortunate noblemen who accompanied the prince of Orange.

Every one knows the importance of a popular name to a faction,—a *nom de guerre*, under which its members can rally and make head together as an independent party. Such the name of "*Gueux*" now became to the confederates. It soon was understood to signify those who were opposed to the government, and, in a wider sense, to the Roman Catholic religion. In every language in which the history of these acts has been recorded, —the Latin, German, Spanish, or English,—the French term *Gueux* is ever employed to designate this party of malecontents in the Netherlands.[28]

[27] So says Strada. (De Bello Belgico, tom. ii. p. 227.) But the duchess, in a letter written in cipher to the king, tells him that the three lords pledged the company in the same toast of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" that had been going the rounds of the table. "Le prince d'Oranges et les comtes d'Egmont et de Hornes vinrent à la maison de Culembourg après le dîner; ils burent avec les confédérés, et crièrent aussi *vivent les gueux!*" Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 409.

[28] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 227.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 143.—The word *gueux* is derived by

It now became common to follow out the original idea by imitations of the different articles used by mendicants. Staffs were procured, after the fashion of those in the hands of the pilgrims, but more elaborately carved. Wooden bowls, spoons, and knives became in great request, though richly inlaid with silver, according to the fancy or wealth of the possessor. Medals resembling those stuck by the beggars in their bonnets were worn as a badge; and the "Gueux penny," as it was called, —a gold or silver coin,—was hung from the neck, bearing on one side the effigy of Philip, with the inscription, "*Fidèles au roi;*" and on the other, two hands grasping a beggar's wallet, with the further legend, "*jusques à porter la besace;*"— "Faithful to the king, even to carrying the wallet."[29] Even the garments of the mendicant were affected by the confederates, who used them as a substitute for their family liveries; and troops of their retainers, clad in the ash-gray habiliments of the begging friars, might be seen in the streets of Brussels and the other cities of the Netherlands.[30]

On the tenth of April, the confederates quitted

Vander Haer from *Goth,* in the old German form, *Geute:* "Eandem esse eam vocem gallicam quæ esset Teutonum vox, Geuten, quam maiores vel Gothis genti Barbaræ tribuissent, vel odio Gothici nominis convicium fecissent." De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 212.

[29] Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, loc. cit.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 228.—Arend, in his Algemeene Geschiedenis des Vaderlands, has given engravings of these medals, on which the devices and inscriptions were not always precisely the same. Some of these mendicant paraphernalia are still to be found in ancient cabinets in the Low Countries, or were in the time of Vandervynckt. See his Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 143.

[30] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 228.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 212.

Brussels, in the orderly manner in which they had entered it; except that, on issuing from the gate, they announced their departure by firing a salute in honor of the city which had given them so hospitable a welcome.[31] Their visit to Brussels had not only created a great sensation in the capital itself, but throughout the country. Hitherto the league had worked in darkness, as it were, like a band of secret conspirators. But they had now come forward into the light of day, boldly presenting themselves before the regent, and demanding redress of the wrongs under which the nation was groaning. The people took heart, as they saw this broad ægis extended over them to ward off the assaults of arbitrary power. Their hopes grew stronger, as they became assured of the interposition of the regent and the great lords in their favor; and they could hardly doubt that the voice of the country, backed as it was by that of the government, would make itself heard at Madrid, and that Philip would at length be compelled to abandon a policy which menaced him with the loss of the fairest of his provinces. They had yet to learn the character of their sovereign.

[31] "En sortant de la porte de la ville, ils ont fait une grande décharge de leurs pistolets." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 408.

CHAPTER XI

FREEDOM OF WORSHIP

The Edicts suspended—The Sectaries—The Public Preachings—Attempt to suppress them—Meeting at St. Trond—Philip's Concessions

1566

ON quitting Brussels, the confederates left there four of their number as a sort of committee to watch over the interests of the league. The greater part of the remainder, with Brederode at their head, took the road to Antwerp. They were hardly established in their quarters in that city when the building was surrounded by thousands of the inhabitants, eager to give their visitors a tumultuous welcome. Brederode came out on the balcony, and, addressing the crowd, told them that he had come there, at the hazard of his life, to rescue them from the miseries of the Inquisition. He called on his audience to take him as their leader in this glorious work; and as the doughty champion pledged them in a goblet of wine which he had brought with him from the table, the mob answered by such a general shout as was heard in the farthest corners of the city.[1] Thus a relation was openly established between the confederates

[1] "Vos si mecum in hoc preclaro opere consentitis, agite, et qui vestrum salvam libertatem, me duce volent, propinatum hoc sibi poculum, benevolentiæ meæ significationem genialiter accipiant, idque manûs indicio contestentur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 231.

and the people, who were to move forward together in the great march of the revolution.

Soon after the departure of the confederates from Brussels, the regent despatched an embassy to Madrid to acquaint the king with the recent proceedings and to urge his acquiescence in the reforms solicited by the league. The envoys chosen were the baron de Montigny—who had taken charge, it may be remembered, of a similar mission before—and the marquis of Bergen, a nobleman of liberal principles, but who stood high in the regard of the regent.[2] Neither of the parties showed any alacrity to undertake a commission which was to bring them so closely in contact with the dread monarch in his capital. Bergen found an apology for some time in a wound from a tennis-ball, which disabled his leg; * an ominous accident, interpreted by the chroniclers of the time into an intimation from Heaven of the disastrous issue of the mission.[3] Montigny reached Madrid some time before his companion, on the seventeenth of June, and met with a gracious reception

[2] "Estans mesmes personnages si prudes, discrets et tant imbus de tout ce que convient remonstrer a V. M., outre l'affection que j'ay toujours trouvé en eux, tant adonnez au service d'icelle." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 24.

[3] "Crederes id ab illius accidisse genio, qui non contentus admonendo aurem ei vellicasse, nunc quasi compedibus injectis, ne infaustum iter ingrederetur, attineret pedes." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 235.

* [A wound upon the leg from a *tennis-ball* would hardly have disabled the marquis. He was walking through the palace park, where some gentlemen were playing *pall-mall*, and was struck on the leg by the hard wooden ball driven by the mallet of one of the players. The injury was in itself trifling, but it produced some fever. Bergen never returned from Spain.—M.]

from Philip, who listened with a benignant air to the recital of the measures suggested for the relief of the country, terminating, as usual, with an application for a summons of the states-general, as the most effectual remedy for the disorders. But, although the envoy was admitted to more than one audience, he obtained no more comfortable assurance than that the subject should receive the most serious consideration of his majesty.[4]

Meanwhile the regent was busy in digesting the plan of compromise to which she had alluded in her reply to the confederates. When concluded, it was sent to the governors of the several provinces, to be laid before their respective legislatures. Their sanction, it was hoped, would recommend its adoption to the people at large. It was first submitted to some of the smaller states, as Artois, Namur, and Luxemburg, as most likely to prove subservient to the wishes of the government. It was then laid before several of the larger states, as Brabant and Flanders, whose determination might be influenced by the example of the others. Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and one or two other provinces, where the spirit of independence was highest, were not consulted at all. Yet this politic management did not entirely succeed; and although some few gave an unconditional assent, most of the provinces coupled their acquiescence with limitations that rendered it of little worth.[5]

[4] "Les seules réponses qu'il ait obtenues de S. M., sont qu'elle y pensera, que ces affaires sont de grande importance, etc." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 426.

[5] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 41.—Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 78.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 216.

This was not extraordinary. The scheme was one which, however large the concessions it involved on the part of the government, fell far short of those demanded by the people. It denounced the penalty of death on all ministers and teachers of the reformed religion, and all who harbored them; and, while it greatly mitigated the punishment of other offenders, its few sanguinary features led the people sneeringly to call it, instead of "moderation," the act of "*murderation*." [6] It fared, indeed, with this compromise of the regent as with most other half-way measures. It satisfied neither of the parties concerned in it. The king thought it as much too lenient as the people thought it too severe. It never received the royal sanction, and of course never became a law. It would therefore hardly have deserved the time I have bestowed on it, except as evidence of the conciliatory spirit of the regent's administration.

In the same spirit Margaret was careful to urge the royal officers to give a liberal interpretation to the existing edicts, and to show the utmost discretion in their execution. These functionaries were not slow in obeying commands which released them from so much of the odium that attached to their ungrateful office. The amiable temper of the government received support from a singular fraud which took place at this time. An instrument was prepared purporting to have come from the knights of the Golden Fleece, in which this body guaranteed to the confederates that no one in the

[6] "Ceste moderation, que le cõmun peuple apelloit meurderation." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 41.

Low Countries should be molested on account of his religion until otherwise determined by the king and the states-general. This document, which carried its spurious origin on its face, was nevertheless eagerly caught up and circulated among the people, ready to believe what they most desired. In vain the regent, as soon as she heard of it, endeavored to expose the fraud. It was too late; and the influence of this imposture combined with the tolerant measures of the government to inspire a confidence in the community which was soon visible in its results. Some who had gone into exile returned to their country. Many who had cherished the new doctrines in secret openly avowed them; while others who were wavering, now that they were relieved from all fear of consequences, became fixed in their opinions. In short, the Reformation, in some form or other, was making rapid advances over the country.[7]

Of the three great sects who embraced it, the Lutherans, the least numerous, were the most eminent for their rank. The Anabaptists, far exceeding them in number, were drawn almost wholly from the humbler classes of the people. It is singular that this sect, the most quiet and inoffensive of all, should have been uniformly dealt with by the law with peculiar rigor. It may perhaps be attributed to the bad name which attached to them from the excesses committed by their brethren, the famous Anabaptists of Münster. The third de-

[7] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 233, 234, 239.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 170.—See the forged document mentioned in the text in the Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 330.

nomination, the Calvinists, far outnumbered both of the other two. They were also the most active in the spirit of proselytism. They were stimulated by missionaries trained in the schools of Geneva; and as their doctrines spread silently over the land, not only men of piety and learning, but persons of the highest social position, were occasionally drawn within the folds of the sect.

The head-quarters of the Calvinists were in Flanders, Hainault, Artois, and the provinces contiguous to France. The border-land became the residence of French Huguenots, and of banished Flemings, who on this outpost diligently labored in the cause of the Reformation. The press teemed with publications,—vindications of the faith, polemical tracts, treatises, and satires against the Church of Rome and its errors,—those spiritual missiles, in short, which form the usual magazine for controversial warfare. These were distributed by means of peddlers and travelling tinkers, who carried them, in their distant wanderings, to the humblest firesides throughout the country. There they were left to do their work; and the ground was thus prepared for the laborers whose advent forms an epoch in the history of the Reformation.[8]

These were the ministers or missionaries, whose public preaching soon caused a great sensation throughout the land. They first made their appearance in Western Flanders, before small

[8] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 150, et seq.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 239, 240.—Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 127.

audiences gathered together stealthily in the gloom of the forest and in the silence of night. They gradually emerged into the open plains, thence proceeding to the villages, until, growing bolder with impunity, they showed themselves in the suburbs of the great towns and cities. On these occasions, thousands of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, in too great force for the magistrates to resist them, poured out of the gates to hear the preacher. In the centre of the ground a rude staging was erected, with an awning to protect him from the weather. Immediately round this rude pulpit was gathered the more helpless part of the congregation, the women and children. Behind them stood the men,—those in the outer circle usually furnished with arms,—swords, pikes, muskets,—any weapon they could pick up, for the occasion. A patrol of horse occupied the ground beyond, to protect the assembly and prevent interruption. A barricade of wagons and other vehicles was thrown across the avenues that led to the place, to defend it against the assaults of the magistrates or the military. Persons stationed along the highroads distributed religious tracts, and invited the passengers to take part in the services.[9]

The preacher was frequently some converted priest or friar, accustomed to speak in public, who, having passed the greater part of his life in battling for the Church, now showed equal zeal in overturning it. It might be, however, that the

[9] Languet, Epist. secr., quoted by Groen, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 180.—See also Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 241.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 172.

orator was a layman,—some peasant or artisan, who, gifted with more wit, or possibly more effrontery, than his neighbors, felt himself called on to assume the perilous vocation of a preacher. The discourse was in French or Flemish, whichever might be the language spoken in the neighborhood. It was generally of the homely texture suited both to the speaker and his audience. Yet sometimes he descanted on the woes of the land with a pathos which drew tears from every eye, and at others gave vent to a torrent of fiery eloquence that kindled the spirit of the ancient martyr in the bosoms of his hearers.

These lofty flights were too often degraded by coarse and scurrilous invectives against the pope, the clergy, and the Inquisition,—themes peculiarly grateful to his audience, who testified their applause by as noisy demonstrations as if they had been spectators in a theatre. The service was followed by singing some portion of the Psalms in the French version of Marot, or in a Dutch translation which had recently appeared in Holland,[10] and which, although sufficiently rude, passed with the simple people for a wonderful composition. After this it was common for those who attended to present their infants for baptism; and many couples profited by the occasion to have the marriage-ceremony performed with the Calvinistic rites. The exercises were concluded by a collection for the poor of their own denomination. In fine, these meetings, notwithstanding the occasional license of the preacher, seem to have been con-

[10] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, ubi supra.

ducted with a seriousness and decorum which hardly merit the obloquy thrown on them by some of the Catholic writers.

The congregation, it is true, was made up of rather motley materials. Some went out merely to learn what manner of doctrine it was that they taught; others, to hear the singing, where thousands of voices blended together in rude harmony under the canopy of heaven; others, again, with no better motive than amusement, to laugh at the oddity—perhaps the buffoonery—of the preacher. But far the larger portion of the audience went with the purpose of joining in the religious exercises and worshipping God in their own way.[11] We may imagine what an influence must have been exercised by these meetings, where so many were gathered together, under a sense of common danger, to listen to the words of the teacher, who taught them to hold all human law as light in comparison with the higher law of conscience seated in their own bosoms. Even of those who came to scoff, few there were, probably, who did not go away with some food for meditation, or, it may be, the seeds of future conversion implanted in their breasts.

The first of these public preachings—which began as early as May—took place in the neighborhood of Ghent. Between six and seven thousand persons were assembled. A magistrate of the city, with more valor than discretion, mounted his horse, and, armed with sword and pistol, rode in among the multitude and undertook to arrest the

[11] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 173.

minister. But the people hastened to his rescue, and dealt so roughly with the unfortunate officer that he barely escaped with life from their hands.[12]

From Ghent the preachings extended to Ypres, Bruges, and other great towns of Flanders,—always in the suburbs,—to Valenciennes, and to Tournay, in the province of Hainault, where the reformers were strong enough to demand a place of worship within the walls. Holland was ready for the Word. Ministers of the *new religion*, as it was called, were sent both to that quarter and to Zealand. Gatherings of great multitudes were held in the environs of Amsterdam, the Hague, Haarlem, and other large towns, at which the magistrates were sometimes to be found mingled with the rest of the burghers.

But the place where these meetings were conducted on the greatest scale was Antwerp, a city containing then more than a hundred thousand inhabitants, and the most important mart for commerce in the Netherlands. It was the great resort of foreigners. Many of these were Huguenots, who, under the pretext of trade, were much more busy with the concerns of their religion. At the meetings without the walls it was not uncommon for thirteen or fourteen thousand persons to assemble.[13] Resistance on the part of the magistrates was ineffectual. The mob got possession of the keys of the city; and, as most of the Calvinists

[12] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 171.

[13] "Se y sont le dimanche dernier encoires faict deux presches, l'une en françois, l'autre en flamand, en plein jour, et estoient ces deux assemblées de 13 à 14 mille personnes." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 65.

were armed, they constituted a formidable force. Conscious of their strength, they openly escorted their ministers back to the town, and loudly demanded that some place of worship should be appropriated to them within the walls of Antwerp. The quiet burghers became alarmed. As it was known that in the camp of the Reformers were many reckless and disorderly persons, they feared the town might be given over to pillage. All trade ceased. Many of the merchants secreted their effects, and some prepared to make their escape as speedily as possible.[14]

The magistrates, in great confusion, applied to the regent, and besought her to transfer her residence to Antwerp, where her presence might overawe the spirit of sedition. But Margaret's council objected to her placing herself in the hands of so factious a population; and she answered the magistrates by inquiring what guarantee they could give her for her personal safety. They then requested that the prince of Orange, who held the office of *burgrave* of Antwerp, and whose influence with the people was unbounded, might be sent to them. Margaret hesitated as to this; for she had now learned to regard William with dis-

[14] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, pp. 80–88.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 243.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 42.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 433.—A Confession of Faith, which appeared in 1563, was revised by a Calvinistic synod, and reprinted at Antwerp, in May of the present year, 1566. The prefatory letter addressed to King Philip, in which the Reformers appealed to their creed and to their general conduct as affording the best refutation of the calumnies of their enemies, boldly asserted that their number in the Netherlands at that time was at least a hundred thousand. Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 158.

trust, as assuming more and more an unfriendly attitude towards her brother.[15] But she had no alternative, and she requested him to transfer his residence to the disorderly capital and endeavor to restore it to tranquillity. The prince, on the other hand, disgusted with the course of public affairs, had long wished to withdraw from any share in their management. It was with reluctance he accepted the commission.

As he drew near to Antwerp, the people flocked out by thousands to welcome him. It would seem as if they hailed him as their deliverer; and every window, veranda, and roof was crowded with spectators, as he rode through the gates of the capital.[16] The people ran up and down the streets, singing psalms, or shouting "*Vivent les Gueux!*" while they thronged round the prince's horse in so dense a mass that it was scarcely possible for him to force a passage.[17] Yet these demonstrations of his popularity were not altogether satisfactory; and he felt no pleasure at being thus welcomed as a chief of the league, which, as we have seen, he was far from regarding with approbation. Waving his hand repeatedly to those around him, he called on them to disperse, impatiently exclaiming, "Take heed what you do, or, by Heaven, you

[15] "La Duquesa, ya demasiado informada de las platicas inclinaciones y disimulaciones de este Principe, defirió á resolverse en ello." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, cap. 15, MS.

[16] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 244.

[17] A mob of no less than thirty thousand men, according to William's own statement: "A mon semblant, trouvis, tant hors que dedans la ville, plus de trente mil hommes." Correspondance de Guillaume de Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 136.

will have reason to rue it." [18] He rode straight to the hall where the magistrates were sitting, and took counsel with them as to the best means of allaying the popular excitement, and of preventing the wealthy burghers from quitting the city. During the few weeks he remained there, the prince conducted affairs so discreetly as to bring about a better understanding between the authorities and the citizens. He even prevailed on the Calvinists to lay aside their arms. He found more difficulty in persuading them to relinquish the design of appropriating to themselves some place of worship within the walls. It was not till William called in the aid of the military to support him that he compelled them to yield.[19]

Thus the spirit of reform was rapidly advancing in every part of the country,—even in presence of the court, under the very eye of the regent. In Brussels the people went through the streets by night, singing psalms, and shouting the war-cry of *Vivent les Gueux!* The merchants and wealthy burghers were to be seen with the insignia of the confederates on their dress.[20] Preparations were made for a public preaching without the walls; but the duchess at once declared that in that event

[18] "Viderent, per Deum, quid agerent: ne, si pergerent, eos aliquando pœniteret." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 244.

[19] For the account of the proceedings at Antwerp, see Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. pp. 136, 138, 140, et seq.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 244–248.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 42.—Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, pp. 90, 91.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. pp. 173–176.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

[20] "Insignia etiam à mercatoribus usurpari cœpta." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 238.

she would make one of the company at the head of her guard, seize the preacher, and hang him up at the gates of the city![21] This menace had the desired effect.

During these troublous times, Margaret, however little she may have accomplished, could not be accused of sleeping on her post. She caused fasts to be observed, and prayers to be offered in all the churches, to avert the wrath of Heaven from the land. She did not confine herself to these spiritual weapons, but called on the magistrates of the towns to do their duty, and on all good citizens to support them. She commanded foreigners to leave Antwerp, except those only who were there for traffic. She caused placards to be everywhere posted up, reciting the terrible penalties of the law against heretical teachers and those who abetted them; and she offered a reward of six hundred florins to whoever should bring any such offender to punishment.[22] She strengthened the garrisoned towns, and would have levied a force to overawe the refractory; but she had not the funds to pay for it. She endeavored to provide these by means of loans from the great clergy and the principal towns; but with indifferent success. Most of them were already creditors of the gov-

[21] "Ils auraient prêché hors de Bruxelles, si Madame n'y avait pourvu, allant jusqu'à dire qu'avec sa personne, sa maison et sa garde, elle s'y opposerait, et ferait pendre en sa présence les ministres." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 447.

[22] "So pena de proceder contra los Predicadores ministros y semejantes con el ultimo suplicio y confiscacion de hacienda por aplicarlo al provecho de los que havian la aprehension de ellos y por falta de hacienda, su magestad mandará librar del suyo seiscientos florines." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

ernment, and they liked the security too little to make further advances. In her extremity, Margaret had no resource but the one so often tried, —that of invoking the aid of her brother. "I have no refuge," she wrote, "but in God and your majesty. It is with anguish and dismay I must admit that my efforts have wholly failed to prevent the public preaching, which has spread over every quarter of the country." [23] She bitterly complains, in another letter, that, after "so many pressing applications, she should be thus left, without aid and without instructions, to grope her way at random." [24] She again beseeches Philip to make the concessions demanded, in which event the great lords assure her of their support in restoring order.

It was the policy of the cabinet of Madrid not to commit itself. The royal answers were brief, vague, never indicating a new measure, generally intimating satisfaction with the conduct of the regent, and throwing as far as possible all responsibility on her shoulders.

But, besides his sister's letters, the king was careful to provide himself with other sources of information respecting the state of the Netherlands. From some of these the accounts he received of the conduct of the great lords were even less favorable

[23] "Je suis forcée avecq douleur et angoisse d'esprit lui dire de rechief que nonobstant tous les debvoirs que je fais journellement, . . . je ne puis remédier ny empescher les assemblées des presches publicques." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 72.

[24] "Sans aide et sans ordres, de manière que, dans tout ce qu'elle fait, elle doit aller en tâtonnant et au hasard." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 428.

than hers. A letter from the secretary, Armenteros, speaks of the difficulty he finds in fathoming the designs of the prince of Orange,—a circumstance which he attributes to his probable change of religion. "He relies much," says the writer, "on the support he receives in Germany, on his numerous friends at home, and on the general distrust entertained of the king. The prince is making preparations in good season," he concludes, "for defending himself against your majesty." [25]

Yet Philip did not betray any consciousness of this unfriendly temper in the nobles. To the prince of Orange, in particular, he wrote, "You err in imagining that I have not entire confidence in you. Should any one seek to do you an ill office with me, I should not be so light as to give ear to him, having had so large experience of your loyalty and your services." [26] "This is not the time," he adds, "for men like you to withdraw from public affairs." But William was the last man to be

[25] "Le prince se prépare de longue main à la défense qu'il sera forcé de faire contre le Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 431.—It was natural that the relations of William with the party of reform should have led to the persuasion that he had returned to the opinions in which he had been early educated. These were Lutheran. There is no reason to suppose that at the present time he had espoused the doctrines of Calvin. The intimation of Armenteros respecting the prince's change of religion seems to have made a strong impression on Philip. On the margin of the letter he wrote against the passage, "No one has said this so unequivocally before,"—"No lo ha escrito nadie asi claro."

[26] "Vos os engañariades mucho en pensar que yo no tubiese toda confianza de vos, y quando hubiese alguno querido hazer oficio con migo en contrario á esto, no soy tan liviano que hubiese dado credito á ello, teniendo yo tanta esperiencia de vuestra lealtad y de vuestros servicios." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 171.

duped by these fair words. When others inveighed against the conduct of the regent, William excused her by throwing the blame on Philip. "Resolved to deceive all," he said, "he begins by deceiving his sister." [27]

It was about the middle of July that an event occurred which caused still greater confusion in the affairs of the Netherlands. This was a meeting of the confederates at St. Trond, in the neighborhood of Liége They assembled, two thousand in number, with Count Louis and Brederode at their head. Their great object was to devise some means for their personal security. They were aware that they were held responsible, to some extent, for the late religious movements among the people.[28] They were discontented with the prolonged silence of the king, and they were alarmed by rumors of military preparations, said to be designed against them. The discussions of the assembly, long and animated, showed some difference of opinion. All agreed to demand some guarantee from the government for their security. But the greater part of the body, no longer halting at the original limits of their petition, were now for demanding absolute toleration in matters of religion. Some few of the number, stanch

[27] "Que le roi, résolu de les tromper tous, commençait par tromper sa sœur." Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 148.

[28] This responsibility is bluntly charged on them by Renom de Francia: "El dia de las predicaciones oraciones y cantos estando concertado, se acordó con las principales villas que fuese el San Juan siguiente y de continuar en adelante, primero en los Bosques y montañas, despues en los arrabales y Aldeas y pues en las villas, por medida que el numero, la audacia y sufrimiento creciese." Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

Catholics at heart, who for the first time seem to have had their eyes opened to the results to which they were inevitably tending, now, greatly disgusted, withdrew from the league. Among these was the younger Count Mansfeldt,—a name destined to become famous in the annals of the revolution.

Margaret, much alarmed by these new demonstrations, sent Orange and Egmont to confer with the confederates and demand why they were thus met in an unfriendly attitude towards the government which they had so lately pledged themselves to support in maintaining order. The confederates replied by sending a deputation of their body to submit their grievances anew to the regent.

The deputies, twelve in number, and profanely nick-named at Brussels "the twelve apostles," [29] presented themselves, with Count Louis at their head, on the twenty-eighth of July, at the capital. Margaret, who with difficulty consented to receive them in person, gave unequivocal signs of her displeasure. In the plain language of Louis, "the regent was ready to burst with anger." [30] The memorial, or rather remonstrance, presented to her was not calculated to allay it.

Without going into details, it is only necessary to say that the confederates, after stating their grounds for apprehension, requested that an assurance should be given by the government that no harm was intended them As to pardon for the

[29] "Qui vulgari joco duodecim Apostoli dicebantur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 248.

[30] "S'est mise en une telle colère contre nous, qu'elle a pensé crever." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 178.

past, they disclaimed all desire for it. What they had done called for applause, not condemnation. They only trusted that his majesty would be pleased to grant a convocation of the states-general, to settle the affairs of the country. In the mean time, they besought him to allow the concerns of the confederates to be placed in the hands of the prince of Orange, and the Counts Egmont and Hoorne, to act as their mediators with the crown, promising in all things to be guided by their counsel. Thus would tranquillity be restored. But without some guarantee for their safety, they should be obliged to protect themselves by foreign aid.[31]

The haughty tone of this memorial forms a striking contrast with that of the petition presented by the same body not four months before, and shows with what rapid strides the revolution had advanced. The religious agitations had revealed the amount of discontent in the country, and to what extent, therefore, the confederates might rely on the sympathy of the people. This was most unequivocally proved during the meeting at St. Trond, where memorials were presented by the merchants, and by persons of the Reformed religion, praying the protection of the league to secure them freedom of worship till otherwise determined by the states-general. This extraordinary request was granted.[32] Thus the two great parties leaned on each other for support, and gave

[31] "Alioqui externa remedia quamvis invitos postremò quæsituros." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 248.

[32] The memorials are given at length by Groen, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. pp. 159–167.

mutual confidence to their respective movements. The confederates, discarding the idea of grace, which they had once solicited, now darkly intimated a possible appeal to arms. The Reformers, on their side, instead of the mitigation of penalties, now talked of nothing less than absolute toleration. Thus political revolution and religious reform went hand in hand together. The nobles and the commons, the two most opposite elements of the body politic, were united closely by a common interest; and a formidable opposition was organized to the designs of the monarch, which might have made any monarch tremble on his throne.

An important fact shows that the confederates coolly looked forward, even at this time, to a conflict with Spain. Louis of Nassau had a large correspondence with the leaders of the Huguenots in France and of the Lutherans in Germany. By the former he had been offered substantial aid in the way of troops. But the national jealousy entertained of the French would have made it impolitic to accept it. He turned therefore to Germany, where he had numerous connections, and where he subsidized a force consisting of four thousand horse and forty companies of foot, to be at the disposal of the league. This negotiation was conducted under the eye, and, as it seems, partly through the agency, of his brother William.[33] From this moment, therefore, if not before, the prince of Orange may be identified with

[33] See the letter of Louis to his brother dated July 26th, 1566, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 178.

the party who were prepared to maintain their rights by an appeal to arms.

These movements of the league could not be kept so close but that they came to the knowledge of Margaret. Indeed, she had her secret agents at St. Trond, who put her in possession of whatever was done, or even designed, by the confederates.[34] This was fully exhibited in her correspondence with Philip, while she again called his attention to the forlorn condition of the government, without men, or money, or the means to raise it.[35] "The sectaries go armed," she writes, "and are organizing their forces. The league is with them. There remains nothing but that they should band together and sack the towns, villages, and churches, of which I am in marvellous great fear." [36] Her fears had gifted her with the spirit of prophecy. She implores her brother, if he will not come himself to Flanders, to convoke the states-general, quoting the words of Egmont, that, unless summoned by the king, they would assemble of themselves, to devise some remedy for the miseries of the land and prevent its otherwise

[34] The person who seems to have principally served her in this respectable office was a "doctor of law," one of the chief counsellors of the confederates. Count Megen, her agent on the occasion, bribed the doctor by the promise of a seat in the council of Brabant. Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 435.

[35] "Le tout est en telle désordre," she says in one of her letters, "que, en la pluspart du païs, l'on est sans loy, foy, ni Roy." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 91.—Anarchy could not be better described in so few words.

[36] "Il ne reste plus sinon qu'ils s'assemblent et que, joincts ensemble, ils se livrent à faire quelque sac d'églises, villes, bourgs, ou païs, de quoy je suis en merveilleusement grande crainte." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 121.

inevitable ruin.[37] At length came back the royal answer to Margaret's reiterated appeals. It had at least one merit, that of being perfectly explicit.

Montigny, on reaching Madrid, as we have seen, had ready access to Philip. Both he and his companion, the marquis of Bergen, were allowed to witness, it would seem, the deliberations of the council of state when the subject of their mission was discussed. Among the members of that body, at this time, may be noticed the duke of Alva; Ruy Gomez de Silva, prince of Eboli, who divided with Alva the royal favor; Figueroa, count of Feria, a man of an acute and penetrating intellect, formerly ambassador to England, in Queen Mary's time; and Luis de Quixada, the major-domo of Charles the Fifth. Besides these there were two or three councillors from the Netherlands, among whose names we meet with that of Hopper, the near friend and associate of Viglius. There was great unanimity in the opinions of this loyal body, where none, it will be readily believed, was disposed to lift his voice in favor of reform. The course of events in the Netherlands, they agreed, plainly showed a deliberate and well-concerted scheme of the great nobles to secure to themselves the whole power of the country. The first step was the removal of Granvelle, a formidable obstacle in their path. Then came the attempt to concentrate the management of affairs in the hands of the council of state. This was followed by assaults on the Inquisition and the edicts, as the things most obnoxious to the people; by the cry in

[37] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 432.

favor of the states-general; by the league, the Compromise, the petitions, the religious assemblies; and, finally, by the present mission to Spain. All was devised by the great nobles as part of a regular system of hostility to the crown, the real object of which was to overturn existing institutions and to build up their own authority on the ruins. While the council regarded these proceedings with the deepest indignation, they admitted the necessity of bending to the storm, and under present circumstances judged it prudent for the monarch to make certain specified concessions to the people of the Netherlands. Above all, they earnestly besought Philip, if he would still remain master of this portion of his empire, to defer no longer his visit to the country.[38]

The discussions occupied many and long-protracted sittings of the council; and Philip deeply pondered, in his own closet, on the results, after the discussions were concluded. Even those most familiar with his habits were amazed at the long delay of his decision in the present critical circumstances.[39] The haughty mind of the monarch found it difficult to bend to the required concessions. At length his answer came.

The letter containing it was addressed to his sister, and was dated on the thirty-first of July, 1566, at the Wood of Segovia,—the same place from which he had dictated his memorable de-

[38] The fullest account of the doings of the council is given by Hopper, one of its members. Recueil et Mémorial, pp. 81–87.

[39] "Ceux du conseil d'État sont étonnés du délai que le Roi met a répondre." Montigny to Margaret, July 21st, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 434.

spatches the year preceding. Philip began, as usual, with expressing his surprise at the continued troubles of the country. He was not aware that any rigorous procedure could be charged on the tribunals, or that any change had been made in the laws since the days of Charles the Fifth. Still, as it was much more agreeable to his nature to proceed with clemency and love than with severity,[40] he would conform as far as possible to the desires of his vassals.

He was content that the Inquisition should be abolished in the Netherlands, and in its place be substituted the inquisitorial powers vested in the bishops. As to the edicts, he was not pleased with the plan of Moderation devised by Margaret; nor did he believe that any plan would satisfy the people short of perfect toleration. Still, he would have his sister prepare another scheme, having due reference to the maintenance of the Catholic faith and his own authority. This must be submitted to him, and he would do all that he possibly could in the matter.[41] Lastly, in respect to a general pardon, as he abhorred rigor where any other course would answer the end,[42] he was content that it should be extended to whomever Margaret thought

[40] "Pour l'inclination naturelle que j'ay toujours eu de traicter mes vassaulx et subjects plus par voye d'amour et clémence, que de crainte et de rigeur, je me suis accommodé à tout ce que m'a esté possible." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 100.

[41] "Ay treuvé convenir et nécessaire que l'on conçoive certaine aultre forme de modération de placcart par delà, ayant égard que la saincte foy catholique et mon authorité soyent gardées . . . et y feray tout ce que possible sera." Ibid., p. 103.

[42] "N'abhorrissant riens tant que la voye de rigeur." Ibid., ubi supra.

deserving of it,—always excepting those already condemned, and under a solemn pledge, moreover, that the nobles would abandon the league and henceforth give their hearty support to the government.

Four days after the date of these despatches, on the second of August, Philip again wrote to his sister, touching the summoning of the states-general, which she had so much pressed. He had given the subject, he said, a most patient consideration, and was satisfied that she had done right in refusing to call them together. She must not consent to it. He never would consent to it.[43] He knew too well to what it must inevitably lead. Yet he would not have her report his decision in the absolute and peremptory terms in which he had given it to her, but as intended merely for the present occasion; so that the people might believe she was still looking for something of a different tenor, and cherish the hope of obtaining their object at some future day![44]

The king also wrote that he should remit a sufficient sum to Margaret to enable her to take into her pay a body of ten thousand German foot and three thousand horse, on which she could rely in case of extremity. He further wrote letters with his own hand to the governors of the provinces and the principal cities, calling on them to support the

[43] "Y assí vos no lo consentais, ni yo lo consentiré tan poco." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 439.

[44] "Pero no conviene que esto se entienda allá, ni que vos teneis esta órden mia, sino es para lo de agora, pero que la esperais para adelante, no desesperando ellos para entonces dello." Ibid., ubi supra.

regent in her efforts to enforce the laws and maintain order throughout the country.[45]

Such were the concessions granted by Philip, at the eleventh hour, to his subjects of the Netherlands!—concessions wrung from him by hard necessity; doled out, as it were, like the scanty charity of the miser,—too scanty and too late to serve the object for which it is intended. But slight as these concessions were, and crippled by conditions which rendered them nearly nugatory, it will hardly be believed that he was not even sincere in making them! This is proved by a revelation lately made of a curious document in the Archives of Simancas.

While the ink was scarcely dry on the despatches to Margaret, Philip summoned a notary into his presence, and before the duke of Alva and two other persons, jurists, solemnly protested that the authority he had given to the regent in respect to a general pardon was not of his own free will. "He therefore did not feel bound by it, but reserved to himself the right to punish the guilty, and especially the authors and abettors of sedition in the Low Countries."[46] We feel ourselves at once transported into the depths of the Middle Ages. This feeling will not be changed when we learn the rest of the story of this admirable piece of kingcraft.

[45] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, pp. 106, 114.

[46] "Comme il ne l'a pas fait librement, ni spontanément, il n'entend être lié par cette autorisation, mais au contraire il se réserve de punir les coupables, et principalement ceux qui ont été les auteurs et fauteurs des séditions." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 443.—One would have been glad to see the original text of this protest, which is in Latin, instead of M. Gachard's abstract.

The chair of St. Peter, at this time, was occupied by Pius the Fifth, a pope who had assumed the same name as his predecessor, and who displayed a spirit of fierce, indeed frantic, intolerance, surpassing even that of Paul the Fourth. At the accession of the new pope there were three Italian scholars, inhabitants of Milan, Venice, and Tuscany, eminent for their piety, who had done great service to the cause of letters in Italy, but who were suspected of too liberal opinions in matters of faith. Pius the Fifth demanded that these scholars should all be delivered into his hands. The three states had the meanness to comply. The unfortunate men were delivered up to the Holy Office, condemned, and burned at the stake. This was one of the first acts of the new pontificate. It proclaimed to Christendom that Pius the Fifth was the uncompromising foe of heresy, the pope of the Inquisition. Every subsequent act of his served to confirm his claim to this distinction.

Yet, as far as the interests of Catholicism were concerned, a character like that of Pius the Fifth must be allowed to have suited the times. During the latter part of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, the throne had been filled by a succession of pontiffs notorious for their religious indifference, and their carelessness, too often profligacy, of life. This, as is well known, was one of the prominent causes of the Reformation. A reaction followed. It was necessary to save the Church. A race of men succeeded, of ascetic temper, remarkable for their austere virtues, but without a touch of sympathy

for the joys or sorrows of their species, and wholly devoted to the great work of regenerating the fallen Church. As the influence of the former popes had opened a career to the Reformation, the influence of these latter popes tended materially to check it; and long before the close of the sixteenth century the boundary-line was defined, which it has never since been allowed to pass.

Pius, as may be imagined, beheld with deep anxiety the spread of the new religion in the Low Countries. He wrote to the duchess of Parma, exhorting her to resist to the utmost, and professing his readiness to supply her, if need were, with both men and money. To Philip he also wrote, conjuring him not to falter in the good cause, and to allow no harm to the Catholic faith, but to march against his rebellious vassals at the head of his army and wash out the stain of heresy in the blood of the heretic.[47]

[47] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 236.—Among those who urged the king to violent measures, no one was so importunate as Fray Lorenzo de Villacancio, an Augustin monk, who distinguished himself by the zeal and intrepidity with which he ventured into the strongholds of the Reformers and openly denounced their doctrines. Philip, acquainted with the uncompromising nature of the man, and his devotion to the Catholic Church, employed him both as an agent and an adviser in regard to the affairs of the Low Countries, where Fray Lorenzo was staying in the earlier periods of the troubles. Many of the friar's letters to the king are still preserved in Simancas, and astonish one by the boldness of their criticisms on the conduct of the ministers, and even of the monarch himself, whom Lorenzo openly accuses of a timid policy towards the Reformers. In a memorial on the state of the country, prepared, at Philip's suggestion, in the beginning of 1566, Fray Lorenzo urges the necessity of the most rigorous measures towards the Protestants in the Netherlands. "Since your majesty holds the sword which God has given to you, with the divine power over our lives, let it be drawn from the scabbard, and plunged in the blood of the heretics, if you do not

The king now felt it incumbent on him to explain to the holy father his late proceedings. This he did through Requesens, his ambassador at the papal court. The minister was to inform his holiness that Philip would not have moved in this matter without his advice, had there been time for it. But perhaps it was better as it was; for the abolition of the Inquisition in the Low Countries could not take effect, after all, unless sanctioned by the pope, by whose authority it had been established. This, however, was *to be said in confidence.*[48] As to the edicts, Pius might be assured that his majesty would never approve of any

wish that the blood of Jesus Christ, shed by these barbarians, and the blood of the innocent Catholics whom they have oppressed, should cry aloud to Heaven for vengeance on the sacred head of your majesty! . . . The holy King David showed no pity for the enemies of God. He slew them, sparing neither man nor woman. Moses and his brother, in a single day, destroyed three thousand of the children of Israel. An angel, in one night, put to death more than sixty thousand enemies of the Lord. Your majesty is a king, like David; like Moses, a captain of the people of Jehovah; an angel of the Lord,—for so the Scriptures style the kings and captains of his people;—and these heretics are the enemies of the living God!" And in the same strain of fiery and fanatical eloquence he continues to invoke the vengeance of Philip on the heads of his unfortunate subjects in the Netherlands. That the ravings of this hard-hearted bigot were not distasteful to Philip may be inferred from the fact that he ordered a copy of his memorial to be placed in the hands of Alva, on his departure for the Low Countries. It appears that he had some thoughts of sending Fray Lorenzo to join the duke there,—a project which received little encouragement from the latter, who probably did not care to have so meddlesome a person as this frantic friar to watch his proceedings. An interesting notice of this remarkable man is to be found in Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Rapport, pp. xvi.–l.

[48] "Y por la priesa que dieron en esto, no ubo tiempo de consultarlo á Su Santidad, como fuera justo, y quiza avra sido así mejor, pues no vale nada, sino quitandola Su Santidad que es que la pone; pero en esto conviene que aya el secreto que puede considerar." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 445.

scheme which favored the guilty by diminishing in any degree the penalties of their crimes. This also *was to be considered as secret.*[49] Lastly, his holiness need not be scandalized by the grant of a general pardon, since it referred only to what concerned the king personally, where he had a right to grant it. In fine, the pope might rest assured that the king would consent to nothing that could prejudice the service of God or the interests of religion. He deprecated force, as that would involve the ruin of the country. Still, he would march in person, without regard to his own peril, and employ force, though it should cost the ruin of the provinces, but he would bring his vassals to submission. For he would sooner lose a hundred lives, and every rood of empire, than reign a lord over heretics.[50]

Thus all the concessions of Philip, not merely his promises of grace, but those of abolishing the Inquisition and mitigating the edicts, were to go for nothing,—mere words, to amuse the people until some effectual means could be decided on. The king must be allowed, for once at least, to have spoken with candor. There are few persons who would not have shrunk from acknowledging to their own hearts that they were acting on so deliberate a system of perfidy as Philip thus confided in his correspondence with another. Indeed, he seems to have regarded the pope in the light

[49] "Y en esto conviene el mismo secreto que en lo de arriba." Correspondance de Philippe II., ubi supra.—These injunctions of secrecy are interpolations in the handwriting of the "prudent" monarch himself.

[50] "Perderé todos mis estados, y cien vidas que tuviesse, porque yo no pienso ni quiero ser señor de hereges." Ibid., p. 446.

of his confessor, to whom he was to unburden his bosom as frankly as if he had been in the confessional. The shrift was not likely to bring down a heavy penance from one who doubtless held to the orthodox maxim of "No faith to be kept with heretics."

The result of these royal concessions was what might have been expected. Crippled as they were by conditions, they were regarded in the Low Countries with distrust, not to say contempt. In fact, the point at which Philip had so slowly and painfully arrived had been long since passed in the onward march of the revolution. The men of the Netherlands now talked much more of recompense than of pardon. By a curious coincidence, the thirty-first of July, the day on which the king wrote his last despatches from Segovia, was precisely the date of those which Margaret sent to him from Brussels, giving the particulars of the recent troubles, of the meeting at St. Trond, the demand for a guarantee, and for an immediate summons of the legislature.

But the fountain of royal grace had been completely drained by the late efforts. Philip's reply at this time was prompt and to the point. As to the guarantee, that was superfluous when he had granted a general pardon. For the states-general, there was no need to alter his decision now, since he was so soon to be present in the country.[51]

[51] "Et au regard de la covocation desdicts Estats généraulx, comme je vous ay escript mon intention, je ne treuve qu'il y a maitère pour la changer ne qu'il conviengne aulcunement qu'elle se face en mon absence, mesmes comme je suis si prest de mon partement." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 165.

This visit of the king to the Low Countries, respecting which so much was said and so little was done, seems to have furnished some amusement to the wits of the court. The prince of Asturias, Don Carlos, scribbled one day on the cover of a blank book, as its title, "The Great and Admirable Voyages of King Philip;" and within, for the contents, he wrote, "From Madrid to the Pardo, from the Pardo to the Escorial, from the Escorial to Aranjuez," etc., etc.[52] This jest of the graceless son had an edge to it. We are not told how far it was relished by his royal father.

[52] Brantôme, Œvres, tom. iii. p. 321.

CHAPTER XII

THE ICONOCLASTS

Cathedral of Antwerp sacked—Sacrilegious Outrages—Alarm at Brussels—Churches granted to Reformers—Margaret repents her Concessions—Feeling at Madrid—Sagacity of Orange—His Religious Opinions

1566

WHILE Philip was thus tardily coming to concessions which even then were not sincere, an important crisis had arrived in the affairs of the Netherlands. In the earlier stages of the troubles, all orders, the nobles, the commons, even the regent, had united in the desire to obtain the removal of certain abuses, especially the Inquisition and the edicts. But this movement, in which the Catholic joined with the Protestant, had far less reference to the interests of religion than to the personal rights of the individual. Under the protection thus afforded, however, the Reformation struck deep root in the soil. It flourished still more under the favor shown to it by the confederates, who, as we have seen, did not scruple to guarantee security of religious worship to some of the sectaries who demanded it.

But the element which contributed most to the success of the new religion was the public preachings. These in the Netherlands were what the Jacobin clubs were in France, or the secret socie-

ties in Germany and Italy,—an obvious means for bringing together such as were pledged to a common hostility to existing institutions, and thus affording them an opportunity for consulting on their grievances and for concerting the best means of redress. The direct object of these meetings, it is true, was to listen to the teachings of the minister. But that functionary, far from confining himself to spiritual exercises, usually wandered to more exciting themes, as the corruptions of the Church and the condition of the land. He rarely failed to descant on the forlorn circumstances of himself and his flock, condemned thus stealthily to herd together like a band of outlaws, with ropes, as it were, about their necks, and to seek out some solitary spot in which to glorify the Lord, while their enemies, in all the pride of a dominant religion, could offer up their devotions openly and without fear, in magnificent temples. The preacher inveighed bitterly against the richly beneficed clergy of the rival Church, whose lives of pampered ease too often furnished an indifferent commentary on the doctrines they inculcated. His wrath was kindled by the pompous ceremonial of the Church of Rome, so dazzling and attractive to its votaries, but which the Reformer sourly contrasted with the naked simplicity of the Protestant service. Of all abominations, however, the greatest in his eyes was the worship of images, which he compared to the idolatry that in ancient times had so often brought down the vengeance of Jehovah on the nations of Palestine; and he called on his hearers not merely to remove idolatry from

their hearts, but the idols from their sight.[1] It was not wonderful that, thus stimulated by their spiritual leaders, the people should be prepared for scenes similar to those enacted by the Reformers in France and in Scotland, or that Margaret, aware of the popular feeling, should have predicted such an outbreak. At length it came, and on a scale and with a degree of violence not surpassed either by the Huguenots or the disciples of Knox.

On the fourteenth of August, the day before the festival of the Assumption of the Virgin, a mob some three hundred in number, armed with clubs, axes, and other implements of destruction, broke into the churches around St. Omer, in the province of Flanders, overturned the images, defaced the ornaments, and in a short time demolished whatever had any value or beauty in the buildings. Growing bolder from the impunity which attended their movements, they next proceeded to Ypres, and had the audacity to break into the cathedral and deal with it in the same ruthless manner. Strengthened by the accession of other miscreants from the various towns, they proceeded along the banks of the Lys, and fell upon the churches of Menin, Comines, and other places on its borders. The excitement now spread over the country. Everywhere the populace was in arms. Churches, chapels, and convents were involved in indiscriminate ruin. The storm, after sweeping

[1] "Accendunt animos Ministri, fugienda non animo modò, sed et corpore idola: eradicari, extirpari tantam summi Dei contumeliam opportere affirmant." Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 236.

over Flanders and desolating the flourishing cities of Valenciennes and Tournay, descended on Brabant. Antwerp, the great commercial capital of the country, was its first mark.[2]

The usual population of the town happened to be swelled at this time by an influx of strangers from the neighboring country, who had come up to celebrate the great festival of the Assumption of the Virgin. Fortunately, the prince of Orange was in the place, and by his presence prevented any molestation to the procession, except what arose from the occasional groans and hisses of the more zealous spectators among the Protestants. The priests, however, on their return, had the discretion to deposit the image in the chapel, instead of the conspicuous station usually assigned to it in the cathedral, to receive there during the coming week the adoration of the faithful.

On the following day, unluckily, the prince was recalled to Brussels. In the evening some boys, who had found their way into the church, called out to the Virgin, demanding "why little Mary had gone so early to her nest, and whether she were afraid to show her face in public."[3] This was followed by one of the party mounting into the pulpit and there mimicking the tones and gestures of the Catholic preacher. An honest waterman who was present, a zealous son of the Church, scandalized by this insult to his religion, sprang

[2] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 250–252.—Vander Haer, De Intiis Tumultuum, p. 232, et seq.—Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 96.—Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, pp. 183, 185.

[3] "Si Mariette avait peur, qu'elle se retirât sitôt en son nid." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii., Préface, p. lii.

into the pulpit and endeavored to dislodge the usurper. The lad resisted. His comrades came to his rescue; and a struggle ensued, which ended in both the parties being expelled from the building by the officers.[4] This scandalous proceeding, it may be thought, should have put the magistrates of the city on their guard and warned them to take some measures of defence for the cathedral. But the admonition was not heeded.

On the following day a considerable number of the reformed party entered the building, and were allowed to continue there after vespers, when the rest of the congregation had withdrawn. Left in possession, their first act was to break forth into one of the Psalms of David. The sound of their own voices seemed to rouse them to fury. Before the chant had died away, they rushed forward as by a common impulse, broke open the doors of the chapel, and dragged forth the image of the Virgin. Some called on her to cry, "*Vivent les Gueux!*" while others tore off her embroidered robes and rolled the dumb idol in the dust, amidst the shouts of the spectators.

This was the signal for havoc. The rioters dispersed in all directions on the work of destruction. Nothing escaped their rage. High above the great altar was an image of the Saviour, curiously carved in wood, and placed between the effigies of the two thieves crucified with him. The mob contrived to get a rope round the neck of the statue of Christ, and dragged it to the ground. They then fell upon it with hatchets and hammers, and

[4] Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii., ubi supra.

it was soon broken into a hundred fragments. The two thieves, it was remarked, were spared, as if to preside over the work of rapine below.

Their fury now turned against the other statues, which were quickly overthrown from their pedestals. The paintings that lined the walls of the cathedral were cut into shreds. Many of these were the choicest specimens of Flemish art, even then, in its dawn, giving promise of the glorious day which was to shed a lustre over the land.

But the pride of the cathedral, and of Antwerp, was the great organ, renowned throughout the Netherlands, not more for its dimensions than its perfect workmanship. With their ladders the rioters scaled the lofty fabric, and with their implements soon converted it, like all else they laid their hands on, into a heap of rubbish.

The ruin was now universal. Nothing beautiful, nothing holy, was spared. The altars—and there were no less than seventy in the vast edifice —were overthrown one after another; their richly embroidered coverings rudely rent away; their gold and silver vessels appropriated by the plunderers. The sacramental bread was trodden under foot; the wine was quaffed by the miscreants, in golden chalices, to the health of one another, or of the Gueux; and the holy oil was profanely used to anoint their shoes and sandals. The sculptured tracery on the walls, the costly offerings that enriched the shrines, the screens of gilded bronze, the delicately carved wood-work of the pulpit, the marble and alabaster ornaments, all went down under the fierce blows of the iconoclasts. The

pavement was strewed with the ruined splendors of a church which in size and magnificence was perhaps second only to St. Peter's among the churches of Christendom.*

As the light of day faded, the assailants supplied its place with such light as they could obtain from the candles which they snatched from the altars. It was midnight before the work of destruction was completed. Thus toiling in darkness, feebly dispelled by tapers the rays of which could scarcely penetrate the vaulted distances of

* [The cathedral was not second in size to St. Peter's, but it surpassed it in magnificence. A generation before the people of Antwerp would have given their lives in its defence. Motley's description of it is worth transcribing. "Internally the church was rich beyond expression. All that opulent devotion could devise, in wood, bronze, marble, silver, gold, precious jewellery, or sacramental furniture, had been profusely lavished. The penitential tears of centuries had incrusted the whole interior with their glittering stalactites. Divided into five naves, with external rows of chapels, but separated by no screens or partitions, the great temple forming an imposing whole, the effect was the more impressive, the vistas almost infinite in appearance. The wealthy citizens, the twenty-seven guilds, the six military associations, the rhythmical colleges, besides many other secular or religious sodalities, had their own chapels and altars. Tombs adorned with the effigies of mailed Crusaders and pious dames covered the floor, tattered banners hung in the air, the escutcheons of the Golden Fleece, an order typical of Flemish industry, but of which emperors and kings were proud to be the chevaliers, decorated the columns. The vast and beautifully painted windows glowed with scriptural scenes, antique portraits, homely allegories, painted in those brilliant and forgotten colors which art has not ceased to deplore. The daylight melting into gloom or colored with fantastic brilliancy, priests in effulgent robes chanting in unknown language, the sublime breathing of choral music, the suffocating odors of myrrh and spikenard, suggestive of the Oriental scenery and imagery of Holy Writ, all combined to bewilder and exalt the senses. The highest and humblest seemed to find themselves upon the same level within those sacred precincts, where even the blood-stained criminal was secure, and the arm of secular justice was paralyzed." The Rise of the Dutch Republic, chap. vii.—M.]

the cathedral, it is a curious circumstance—if true—that no one was injured by the heavy masses of timber, stone, and metal that were everywhere falling around them.[5] The whole number engaged in this work is said not to have exceeded a hundred men, women, and boys,—women of the lowest description, dressed in men's attire.

When their task was completed, they sallied forth in a body from the doors of the cathedral, some singing the Psalms of David, others roaring out the fanatical war-cry of "*Vivent les Gueux!*" Flushed with success, and joined on the way by stragglers like themselves, they burst open the doors of one church after another; and by the time morning broke, the principal temples in the city had been dealt with in the same ruthless manner as the cathedral.[6]

No attempt all this time was made to stop these proceedings, on the part of magistrates or citizens. As they beheld from their windows the bodies of armed men hurrying to and fro by the gleam of their torches, and listened to the sounds of violence in the distance, they seem to have been struck with a panic. The Catholics remained within-doors, fearing a general rising of the Protestants. The

[5] "Nullus ex eo numero aut casu afflictus, aut ruinâ oppressus decidentium ac transvolantium fragmentorum, aut occursu collisuque festinantium cum fabrilibus armis levissimè sauciatus sit." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 257.—"No light argument," adds the historian, "that with God's permission the work was done under the immediate direction of the demons of hell!"

[6] Ibid., pp. 255–258.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 237, et seq.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 193.—Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii., Préface, pp. liii., liv.

Protestants feared to move abroad, lest they should be confounded with the rioters. Some imagined their own turn might come next, and appeared in arms at the entrances of their houses, prepared to defend them against the enemy.

When gorged with the plunder of the city, the insurgents poured out at the gates, and fell with the same violence on the churches, convents, and other religious edifices in the suburbs. For three days these dismal scenes continued, without resistance on the part of the inhabitants. Amidst the ruin in the cathedral, the mob had spared the royal arms and the escutcheons of the knights of the Golden Fleece, emblazoned on the walls. Calling this to mind, they now returned into the city to complete the work. But some of the knights, who were at Antwerp, collected a handful of their followers, and, with a few of the citizens, forced their way into the cathedral, arrested ten or twelve of the rioters, and easily dispersed the remainder; while a gallows erected on an eminence admonished the offenders of the fate that awaited them. The facility with which the disorders were repressed by a few resolute men naturally suggests the inference that many of the citizens had too much sympathy with the authors of the outrages to care to check them, still less to bring the culprits to punishment. An orthodox chronicler of the time vents his indignation against a people who were so much more ready to stand by their hearths than by their altars.[7]

[7] "Pro focis pugnatur interdum acriùs quàm pro aris." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 260.

The fate of Antwerp had its effect on the country. The flames of fanaticism, burning fiercer than ever, quickly spread over the northern as they had done over the western provinces. In Holland, Utrecht, Friesland,—everywhere, in short, with a few exceptions on the southern borders,—mobs rose against the churches. In some places, as Rotterdam, Dort, Haarlem, the magistrates were wary enough to avert the storm by delivering up the images, or at least by removing them from the buildings.[8] It was rarely that any attempt was made at resistance. Yet on one or two occasions this so far succeeded that a handful of troops sufficed to rout the iconoclasts. At Anchyn, four hundred of the rabble were left dead on the field. But the soldiers had no relish for their duty, and on other occasions, when called on to perform it, refused to bear arms against their countrymen.[9] The leaven of heresy was too widely spread among the people.

Thus the work of plunder and devastation went on vigorously throughout the land. Cathedral and chapel, monastery and nunnery, religious houses of every description, even hospitals, were delivered up to the tender mercies of the Reform-

[8] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 201.

[9] But the Almighty, to quote the words of a contemporary, jealous of his own honor, took signal vengeance afterwards on all those towns and villages whose inhabitants had stood tamely by and seen the profanation of his temples: "Dios que es justo y zelador de su honra por caminos y formas incomprehensibles, lo ha vengado despues cruelmente, por que todos esos lugares donde esas cosas han acontecido han sido tomados, saqueados, despojados y arruinados por guerra, pillage, peste y incomodidades, en que, asi los males y culpados, como los buenos por su sufrimiento y connivencia, han conocido y confesado que Dios ha sido corrido contra ellos." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

ers. The monks fled, leaving behind them treasures of manuscripts and well-stored cellars, which latter the invaders soon emptied of their contents, while they consigned the former to the flames. The terrified nuns, escaping half naked, at dead of night, from their convents, were too happy to find a retreat among their friends and kinsmen in the city.[10] Neither monk nor nun ventured to go abroad in the conventual garb. Priests might be sometimes seen hurrying away with some relic or sacred treasure under their robes which they were eager to save from the spoilers. In the general sack not even the abode of the dead was respected; and the sepulchres of the counts of Flanders were violated, and laid open to the public gaze![11]

The deeds of violence perpetrated by the iconoclasts were accompanied by such indignities as might express their contempt for the ancient faith. They snatched the wafer, says an eye-witness, from the altar, and put it into the mouth of a parrot. Some huddled the images of the saints together and set them on fire, or covered them with bits of armor, and shouting "*Vivent les Gueux!*" tilted rudely against them. Some put on the vestments stolen from the churches, and ran about the streets with them in mockery. Some basted the books with butter, that they might burn the more briskly.[12] By the scholar, this last enor-

[10] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 259.

[11] "En tous ces monastères et cloistres, ils abattent touttes sépultures des comtes et comtesses de Flandres et aultres." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 183.

[12] "Hîc psittaco sacrosanctum Domini corpus porrigerent: Hîc ex ordine collocatis imaginibus ignem subijcerent, cadentibus insulta-

mity will not be held light among their transgressions. It answered their purpose, to judge by the number of volumes that were consumed. Among the rest, the great library of Vicogne, one of the noblest collections of the Netherlands, perished in the flames kindled by these fanatics.[13]

The amount of injury inflicted during this dismal period it is not possible to estimate. Four hundred churches were sacked by the insurgents in Flanders alone.[14] The damage to the cathedral of Antwerp, including its precious contents, was said to amount to not less than four hundred thousand ducats![15] The loss occasioned by the plunder of gold and silver plate might be computed. The structures so cruelly defaced might be repaired by the skill of the architect. But who can estimate the irreparable loss occasioned by the destruction of manuscripts, statuary, and paintings? It is a melancholy fact that the earliest efforts of the Reformers were everywhere directed against those monuments of genius which had been created and cherished by the generous patronage of Catholicism. But if the first step of the Reformation was on the ruins of art, it cannot be denied that a compensation has been found in the good which it has done by breaking the fetters of the intellect and

rent: Hîc statuis arma induerent, in armatos depugnarent, deiectos Viuant Geusij clamare imperarent, ut ad scopum sic ad Christi imaginem iaculaturi collimarent, libros bibliothecarum butiro inunctos in ignem conijcerent, sacris vestibus summo ludibrio per vicos palàm vterentur." Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 238.

[13] Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 98.

[14] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 182.

[15] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 260.

opening a free range in those domains of science to which all access had been hitherto denied.

The wide extent of the devastation was not more remarkable than the time in which it was accomplished. The whole work occupied less than a fortnight. It seemed as if the destroying angel had passed over the land and at a blow had consigned its noblest edifices to ruin! The method and discipline, if I may so say, in the movements of the iconoclasts, were as extraordinary as their celerity. They would seem to have been directed by some other hands than those which met the vulgar eye. The quantity of gold and silver plate purloined from the churches and convents was immense. Though doubtless sometimes appropriated by individuals, it seems not unfrequently to have been gathered in a heap and delivered to the minister, who, either of himself, or by direction of the consistory, caused it to be melted down and distributed among the most needy of the sectaries.[16] We may sympathize with the indignation of a Catholic writer of the time, who exclaims that in this way the poor churchmen were made to pay for the scourges with which they had been beaten.[17]

The tidings of the outbreak fell heavily on the ears of the court of Brussels, where the regent,

[16] "Y de lo que venia del saco de la plateria y cosas sagradas de la yglesia (que algunos ministros y los del consistorio juntavan en una) distribuyendo á los fieles reformados algunos frutos de su reformacion, para contentar á los hambrientos." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

[17] "Haciendoles pagar el precio de los azotes con que fueron azotados." Ibid.

notwithstanding her prediction of the event, was not any the better prepared for it. She at once called her counsellors together and demanded their aid in defending the religion of the country against its enemies. But the prince of Orange and his friends discouraged a resort to violent measures, as little likely to prevail in the present temper of the people. "First," said Egmont, "let us provide for the security of the state. It will be time enough then to think of religion." "No," said Margaret, warmly; "the service of God demands our first care; for the ruin of religion would be a greater evil than the loss of the country." [18] "Those who have anything to lose in it," replied the count, somewhat coolly, "will probably be of a different opinion," [19]—an answer that greatly displeased the duchess.

Rumors now came thick on one another of the outrages committed by the image-breakers. Fears were entertained that their next move would be on the capital itself. Hitherto the presence of the regent had preserved Brussels, notwithstanding some transient demonstrations among the people, from the spirit of reform which had convulsed the rest of the country. No public meetings had been held either in the city or the suburbs; for Margaret had declared she would hang up not only the

[18] "Il répondit que la première chose à faire était de conserver l'État; que, ensuite on s'occuperait des choses de la religion. Elle répliqua, non sans humeur, qu'il lui paraissait plus nécessaire de pourvoir d'abord à ce qu'exigeait le service de Dieu, parce que la ruine de la religion serait un plus grand mal que la perte du pays." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 449.

[19] "Il repartit que tous ceux que avaient quelque chose à perdre, ne l'entendaient pas de cette manière." Ibid., p. 450.

preacher, but all those who attended him.[20] The menace had its effect. Thus keeping aloof from the general movement of the time, the capital was looked on with an evil eye by the surrounding country; and reports were rife that the iconoclasts were preparing to march in such force on the place as should enable them to deal with it as they had done with Antwerp and the other cities of Brabant.

The question now arose as to the course to be pursued in the present exigency. The prince of Orange and his friends earnestly advised that Margaret should secure the aid of the confederates by the concessions they had so strenuously demanded; in the next place, that she should conciliate the Protestants by consenting to their religious meetings. To the former she made no objection. But the latter she peremptorily refused. "It would be the ruin of our holy religion," she said. It was in vain they urged that two hundred thousand sectaries were in arms; that they were already in possession of the churches; that if she persisted in her refusal they would soon be in Brussels and massacre every priest and Roman Catholic before her eyes![21] Notwithstanding this glowing picture of the horrors in store for her, Margaret remained inflexible. But her agitation was excessive; she felt herself alone in her extremity. The party of Granvelle she had long since abandoned. The party of Orange seemed

[20] Vide *ante*, p. 251.

[21] "Et me disoient . . . que les sectaires voulloient venir tuer, en ma présence, tous les prestres, gens d'église et catholicques." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 188.

now ready to abandon her. "I am pressed by enemies within and without," she wrote to Philip; "there is no one on whom I can rely for counsel or for aid." [22] Distrust and anxiety brought on a fever, and for several days and nights she lay tossing about, suffering equally from distress of body and anguish of spirit.[23]

Thus sorely perplexed, Margaret felt also the most serious apprehensions for her personal safety. With the slight means of defence at her command, Brussels seemed no longer a safe residence, and she finally came to the resolution to extricate herself from the danger and difficulties of her situation by a precipitate flight. After a brief consultation with Barlaimont, Aerschot, and others of the party opposed to the prince of Orange, and hitherto little in her confidence, she determined to abandon the capital and seek a refuge in Mons,—a strong town in Hainault, belonging to the duke of Aerschot, which, from its sturdy attachment to the Romish faith, had little to fear from the fanatics.

Having completed her preparations with the greatest secrecy, on the day fixed for her flight Margaret called her council together to communicate her design. It met with the most decided opposition, not merely from the lords with whom

[22] "La duchesse se trouve sans conseil ni assistance, pressée par l'ennemi au dedans et au dehors." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 455.

[23] "Nonobstant touttes ces raisons et remonstrances, par plusieurs et divers jours, je n'y ay voullu entendre, donnant par plusieurs fois soupirs et signe de douleur et angoisse de cœur, jusques à là que, par aulcuns jours, la fiebvre m'a détenue, et ay passe plusieurs nuicts sans repos." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 194.

she had hitherto acted, but from the President Viglius. They all united in endeavoring to turn her from a measure which would plainly intimate such a want of confidence on the part of the duchess as must dishonor them in the eyes of the world. The preparations for Margaret's flight had not been conducted so secretly but that some rumor of them had taken wind; and the magistrates of the city now waited on her in a body and besought her not to leave them, defenceless as they were, to the mercy of their enemies.

The prince was heard to say that if the regent thus abandoned the government it would be necessary to call the states-general together at once, to take measures for the protection of the country.[24] And Egmont declared that if she fled to Mons he would muster forty thousand men and besiege Mons in person.[25] The threat was not a vain one, for no man in the country could have gathered such a force under his banner more easily than Egmont. The question seems to have been finally settled by the magistrates causing the gates of the town to be secured, and a strong guard placed over them, with orders to allow no passage either to the duchess or her followers. Thus a prisoner in her own capital, Margaret conformed to necessity, and, with the best grace she could, consented to relinquish her scheme of departure.[26]

[24] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 454.

[25] "Egmont a tenu le même langage, en ajoutant qu'on lèverait 40,000 hommes, pour aller assiéger Mons. Ibid., ubi supra.

[26] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 196.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 266.—Vita Viglii, p. 48.—Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 99.

The question now recurred as to the course to be pursued; and the more she pondered on the embarrassments of her position, the more she became satisfied that no means of extricating herself remained but that proposed by the nobles. Yet in thus yielding to necessity she did so protesting that she was acting under compulsion.[27] On the twenty-third of August, Margaret executed an instrument by which she engaged that no harm should come to the members of the league for anything hitherto done by them. She further authorized the lords to announce to the confederates her consent to the religious meetings of the Reformed, in places where they had been hitherto held, until his majesty and the states-general should otherwise determine. It was on the condition, however, that they should go there unarmed, and nowhere offer disturbance to the Catholics.

On the twenty-fifth of the month the confederate nobles signed an agreement on their part, and solemnly swore that they would aid the regent to the utmost in suppressing the disorders of the country and in bringing their authors to justice; agreeing, moreover, that so long as the regent should be true to the compact the league should be considered as null and void.[28]

The feelings of Margaret, in making the con-

[27] At Margaret's command, a detailed account of the circumstances under which these concessions were extorted from her was drawn up by the secretary Berty. This document is given by Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendix, p. 588.

[28] The particulars of the agreement are given by Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 45. See also Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 204.—Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. pp. 455, 459.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. cxliv.

cessions required of her, may be gathered from the perusal of her private correspondence with her brother. No act in her public life ever caused her so deep a mortification; and she never forgave the authors of it. "It was forced upon me," she writes to Philip; "but, happily, you will not be bound by it." And she beseeches him to come at once, in such strength as would enable him to conquer the country for himself, or to give her the means of doing so.[29] Margaret, in early life, had been placed in the hands of Ignatius Loyola. More than one passage in her history proves that the lessons of the Jesuit had not been thrown away.

During these discussions the panic had been such that it was thought advisable to strengthen the garrison under command of Count Mansfeldt, and keep the greater part of the citizens under arms day and night. When this arrangement was concluded, the great lords dispersed on their mission to restore order in their several governments. The prince went first to Antwerp, where, as we have seen, he held the office of burgrave. He made strict investigation into the causes of the late tumult, hung three of the ringleaders, and banished three others. He found it, however, no easy matter to come to terms with the sectaries, who had possession of all the churches, from which they had driven the Catholics. After long negotiation, it was arranged that they should be allowed to hold

[29] "Elle le supplie d'y venir promptement, à main armée, afin de le conquérir de nouveau." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 453.

six, and should resign the rest to the ancient possessors. The arrangement gave general satisfaction, and the principal citizens and merchants congratulated William on having rescued them from the evils of anarchy.

Not so the regent. She knew well that the example of Antwerp would become a precedent for the rest of the country. She denounced the compact, as compromising the interests of Catholicism, and openly accused the prince of having transcended his powers and betrayed the trust reposed in him. Finally, she wrote, commanding him at once to revoke his concessions.

William, in answer, explained to her the grounds on which they had been made, and their absolute necessity in order to save the city from anarchy. It is a strong argument in his favor that the Protestants, who already claimed the prince as one of their own sect, accused him, in this instance, of sacrificing their cause to that of their enemies; and caricatures of him were made, representing him with open hands and a double face.[30] William, while thus explaining his conduct, did not conceal his indignation at the charges brought against him by the regent, and renewed his request for leave to resign his offices, since he no longer enjoyed her confidence. But, whatever disgust she may have felt at his present conduct, William's services were too important to Margaret in this crisis to allow her to dispense with them; and she made haste to write to him in a conciliatory tone, explaining away as far as possible what had been

[30] Raumer, Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, vol. i. p. 177.

offensive in her former letters. Yet from this hour the consciousness of mutual distrust raised a barrier between the parties never to be overcome.[31]

William next proceeded to his governments of Utrecht and Holland, which, by a similar course of measures to that pursued at Antwerp, he soon restored to order. While in Utrecht, he presented to the states of the province a memorial, in which he briefly reviewed the condition of the country. He urged the necessity of religious toleration, as demanded by the spirit of the age, and as particularly necessary in a country like that, the resort of so many foreigners and inhabited by sects of such various denominations. He concluded by recommending them to lay a petition to that effect before the throne,—not, probably, from any belief that such a petition would be heeded by the monarch, but from the effect it would have in strengthening the principles of religious freedom in his countrymen. William's memorial is altogether a remarkable paper for the time, and in the wise and liberal tenor of its arguments strikingly contrasts with the intolerant spirit of the court of Madrid.[32]

The regent proved correct in her prediction that the example of Antwerp would be made a precedent for the country. William's friends, the Counts Hoorne and Hoogstraten, employed the same means for conciliating the sectaries in their own governments. It was otherwise with Egmont. He was too stanch a Catholic at heart to

[31] Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. pp. 220, 223, 231, 233; Préface, pp. lxii.–lxiv.

[32] The document is given entire by Groen, Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 429, et seq.

approve of such concessions. He carried matters, therefore, with a high hand in his provinces of Flanders and Artois, where his personal authority was unbounded. He made a severe scrutiny into the causes of the late tumult, and dealt with its authors so sternly as to provoke a general complaint among the reformed party, some of whom, indeed, became so far alarmed for their own safety that they left the provinces and went beyond sea.

Order now seemed to be re-established in the land, through the efforts of the nobles, aided by the confederates, who seem to have faithfully executed their part of the compact with the regent. The Protestants took possession of the churches assigned to them, or busied themselves with raising others on the ground before reserved for their meetings. All joined in the good work, the men laboring at the building, the women giving their jewels and ornaments to defray the cost of the materials. A calm succeeded,—a temporary lull after the hurricane; and Lutheran and Calvinist again indulged in the pleasing illusion that, however distasteful it might be to the government, they were at length secure of the blessings of religious toleration.

During the occurrence of these events a great change had taken place in the relations of parties. The Catholic members of the league, who had proposed nothing beyond the reform of certain glaring abuses, and least of all anything prejudicial to their own religion, were startled as they saw the inevitable result of the course they were pursuing. Several of them, as we have seen, had

left the league before the outbreak of the iconoclasts; and after that event but very few remained in it. The confederates, on the other hand, lost ground with the people, who looked with distrust on their late arrangement with the regent, in which they had so well provided for their own security. The confidence of the people was not restored by the ready aid which their old allies seemed willing to afford the great nobles in bringing to justice the authors of the recent disorders.[33] Thus deserted by many of its own members, distrusted by the Reformers, and detested by the regent, the league ceased from that period to exert any considerable influence on the affairs of the country.

A change equally important had taken place in the politics of the court. The main object with Margaret, from the first, had been to secure the public tranquillity. To effect this she had more than once so far deferred to the judgment of William and his friends as to pursue a policy not the most welcome to herself. But it had never been her thought to extend that policy to the point of religious toleration. So far from it, she declared that, even though the king should admit two re-

[33] Tiepolo, the Venetian minister at the court of Castile at this time, in his report made on his return expressly acquits the Flemish nobles of what had been often imputed to them, having a hand in these troubles. Their desire for reform only extended to certain crying abuses; but, in the words of his metaphor, the stream which they would have turned to the irrigation of the ground soon swelled to a terrible inundation: "Contra l' opinion de' principali della lega, che volevano indur timore et non tanto danno. . . . Dico che questo fu perchè essi non hebbero mai intentione di ribellarsi dal suo sig^re mà solamente con questi mezzi di timore impedir che non si introducesse in quei stati il tribunal dell' Inqusitione." Relatione di M. A. Tiepolo, 1567, MS.

ligions in the state, she would rather be torn in pieces than consent to it.[34] It was not till the coalition of the nobles that her eyes were opened to the path she was treading. The subsequent outrages of the iconoclasts made her comprehend she was on the verge of a precipice. The concessions wrung from her at that time by Orange and his friends filled up the measure of her indignation. A great gulf now opened between her and the party by whom she had been so long directed. Yet where could she turn for support? One course only remained; and it was with a bitter feeling that she felt constrained to throw herself into the arms of the very party which she had almost estranged from her counsels. In her extremity she sent for the President Viglius, on whose head she had poured so many anathemas in her correspondence with Philip,—whom she had not hesitated to charge with the grossest peculation.

Margaret sent for the old councillor, and, with tears in her eyes, demanded his advice in the present exigency. The president naturally expressed his surprise at this mark of confidence from one who had so carefully excluded him from her counsels for the last two years. Margaret, after some acknowledgment of her mistake, intimated a hope that this would be no impediment to his giving her the counsel she now so much needed. Viglius answered by inquiring whether she were prepared faithfully to carry out what she knew to be the

[34] "En supposant que le Roi voulût admettre deux religions (ce qu'elle ne pouvait croire), elle ne voulait pas, elle, être l'exécutrice d'une semblable détermination; qu'elle se laisserait plutôt mettre en pièces." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 453.

will of the king. On Margaret's replying in the affirmative, he recommended that she should put the same question to each member of her cabinet. "Their answers," said the old statesman, "will show you whom you are to trust." The question—the touchstone of loyalty—was accordingly put; and the minister, who relates the anecdote himself, tells us that three only, Mansfeldt, Barlaimont, and Aerschot, were prepared to stand by the regent in carrying out the policy of the crown. From that hour the regent's confidence was transferred from the party with which she had hitherto acted, to their rivals.[35]

It is amusing to trace the change of Margaret's sentiments in her correspondence of this period with her brother. "Orange and Hoorne prove themselves, by word and by deed, enemies of God and the king."[36] Of Egmont she speaks no better. "With all his protestations of loyalty," she fears he is only plotting mischief to the state. "He has openly joined the *Gueux*, and his eldest daughter is reported to be a Huguenot."[37] Her great concern is for the safety of Viglius, "almost paralyzed by his fears, as the people actually threaten to tear him in pieces."[38] The factious

[35] The report of this curious dialogue, somewhat more extended than in these pages, is to be found in the Vita Viglii, p. 47.

[36] "En paroles et en faits, ils se sont déclarés contre Dieu et contre le Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 453.

[37] Ibid., ubi supra.

[38] "Le président, qu'on menace de tous côtés d'assommer et de mettre en pièces, est devenu d'une timidité incroyable." Ibid., p. 460.—Viglius, in his "Life," confirms this account of the dangers with which he was threatened by the people, but takes much more credit to himself for presence of mind than the duchess seems willing to allow. Vita Viglii, p. 48.

lords conduct affairs according to their own pleasure in the council; and it is understood they are negotiating at the present moment to bring about a coalition between the Protestants of Germany, France, and England, hoping in the end to drive the house of Austria from the throne, to shake off the yoke of Spain from the Netherlands, and divide the provinces among themselves and their friends![39] Margaret's credulity seems to have been in proportion to her hatred, and her hatred in proportion to her former friendship. So it was in her quarrel with Granvelle, and she now dealt the same measure to the men who had succeeded that minister in her confidence.

The prince of Orange cared little for the regent's estrangement. He had long felt that his own path lay wide asunder from that of the government, and, as we have seen, had more than once asked leave to resign his offices and withdraw into private life. Hoorne viewed the matter with equal indifference. He had also asked leave to retire, complaining that his services had been poorly requited by the government. He was a man of a bold, impatient temper. In a letter to Philip he told him that it was not the regent, but his majesty, of whom he complained, for compelling him to undergo the annoyance of dancing attendance at the court of Brussels![40] He further added that he had not discussed his conduct with the duchess,

[39] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 255, 260.

[40] "Disant n'avoir aulcun d'elle, mais bien de Vostre Majesté, laquelle n'avoit esté content me laisser en ma maison, mais m'avoit commandé me trouver à Bruxelles vers Son Altesse, ou avoie receu tant de facheries." Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 505.

as it was not his way to treat of affairs of honor with ladies![41] There was certainly no want of plain-dealing in this communication with majesty.

Count Egmont took the coolness of the regent in a very different manner. It touched his honor, perhaps his vanity, to be thus excluded from her confidence. He felt it the more keenly as he was so loyal at heart and strongly attached to the Romish faith. On the other hand, his generous nature was deeply sensible to the wrongs of his countrymen. Thus drawn in opposite directions, he took the middle course,—by no means the safest in politics. Under these opposite influences he remained in a state of dangerous irresolution. His sympathy with the cause of the confederates lost him the confidence of the government. His loyalty to the government excluded him from the councils of the confederates. And thus, though perhaps the most popular man in the Netherlands, there was no one who possessed less influence in public affairs.[42]

The tidings of the tumults in the Netherlands, which travelled with the usual expedition of evil news, caused as great consternation at the court of Castile as it had done at that of Brussels. Philip, on receiving his despatches, burst forth, it

[41] "Ne me samblant debvoir traicter affaires de honneur avecq Dames." Supplément à Strada, tom. ii., ubi supra.

[42] "They tell me," writes Morillon to Granvelle, "it is quite incredible how old and gray Egmont has become. He does not venture to sleep at night without his sword and pistols by his bedside!" (Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, Supplément, p. 36.) But there was no pretence that at this time Egmont's life was in danger. Morillon, in his eagerness to cater for the cardinal's appetite for gossip, did not always stick at the improbable.

is said, into the most violent fit of anger, and, tearing his beard, he exclaimed, "It shall cost them dear; by the soul of my father I swear it, it shall cost them dear!" [43] The anecdote, often repeated, rests on the authority of Granvelle's correspondent, Morillon. If it be true, it affords a solitary exception to the habitual self-command—displayed in circumstances quite as trying—of the "prudent" monarch. The account given by Hopper, who was with the court at the time, is the more probable of the two. According to that minister, the king, when he received the tidings, lay ill of a tertian fever at Segovia. As letter after letter came to him with particulars of the tumult, he maintained his usual serenity, exhibiting no sign of passion or vexation. Though enfeebled by his malady, he allowed himself no repose, but gave unremitting attention to business.[44] He read all the despatches, made careful notes of their contents, sending such information as he deemed best to his council, for their consideration, and, as his health mended, occasionally attended in person to the discussions of that body.

[43] "Il leur en coûtera cher (s'écria-t-il en se tirant la barbe), il leur en coûtera cher; j'en jure par l'âme de mon père." Gachard, Analectes Belgiques, p. 254.*

[44] "De tout cela (disje) ne se perdit un seul moment en ce temps, non obstant la dicte maladie de Sa Majte, la quelle se monstra semblablement selon son bon naturel, en tous ces negoces et actions tousjours tant modeste, et temperée et constante en iceulx affaires, quelques extremes qu'ilz fussent, que jamais l'on n'a veu en icelle signal, ou de passion contre les personnes d'une part, ou de relasche en ses negoces de l'aultre." Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 104.

* ["Tirant la barbe" is merely pulling, or twitching, the beard,—an habitual gesture of Philip's, according to some writers.—K.]

One can feel but little doubt as to the light in which the proceedings in the Netherlands were regarded by the royal council of Castile. Yet it did not throw the whole, or even the chief blame on the iconoclasts. They were regarded as mere tools in the hands of the sectaries. The sectaries, on their part, were, it was said, moved by the confederates, on whom they leaned for protection. The confederates, in their turn, made common cause with the great lords, to whom many of them were bound by the closest ties of friendship and of blood. By this ingenious chain of reasoning, all were made responsible for the acts of violence; but the chief responsibility lay on the heads of the great nobles, on whom all in the last resort depended. It was against them that the public indignation should be directed, not against the meaner offenders, over whom alone the sword of justice had been hitherto suspended. But the king should dissemble his sentiments until he was in condition to call these great vassals to account for their misdeeds. All joined in beseeching Philip to defer no longer his visit to Flanders; and most of them recommended that he should go in such force as to look down opposition and crush the rebellion in its birth.

Such was the counsel of Alva, in conformity with that which he had always given on the subject. But although all concurred in urging the king to expedite his departure, some of the councillors followed the prince of Eboli in advising Philip that, instead of this warlike panoply, he should go in peaceable guise, accompanied only

by such a retinue as befitted the royal dignity. Each of the great rivals recommended the measures most congenial with his own temper, the direction of which would no doubt be intrusted to the man who recommended them. It is not strange that the more violent course should have found favor with the majority.[45]

Philip's own decision he kept, as usual, locked in his own bosom. He wrote indeed to his sister, warning her not to allow the meeting of the legislature, and announcing his speedy coming,—all as usual; and he added that in repressing the disorders of the country he should use no other means than those of gentleness and kindness, under the sanction of the states.[46] These gentle professions weighed little with those who, like the prince of Orange, had surer means of arriving at the king's intent than what were afforded by the royal cor-

[45] At this period stops the "Recueil et Mémorial des Troubles des Pays-Bas" of Joachim Hopper, which covers a hundred quarto pages of the second volume (part second) of Hoynck van Papendrecht's "Analecta Belgica." Hopper was a jurist, a man of learning and integrity. In 1566 he was called to Madrid, raised to the post of keeper of the seals for the affairs of the Netherlands, and made a member of the council of state. He never seems to have enjoyed the confidence of Philip in anything like the degree which Granvelle and some other ministers could boast; for Hopper was a Fleming. Yet his situation in the cabinet made him acquainted with the tone of sentiment as well as the general policy of the court; while, as a native of Flanders, he could comprehend, better than a Spaniard, the bearing this policy would have on his countrymen. His work, therefore, is of great importance as far as it goes. It is difficult to say why it should have stopped *in mediis*, for Hopper remained still in office, and died at Madrid ten years after the period to which he brings his narrative. He may have been discouraged by the remarks of Viglius, who intimates, in a letter to his friend, that the chronicler should wait to allow Time to disclose the secret springs of action. See the Epistolæ ad Hopperum, p. 419.

[46] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 206.

respondence. Montigny, the Flemish envoy, was still at Madrid, held there, sorely against his will, in a sort of honorable captivity by Philip. In a letter to his brother, Count Hoorne, he wrote, "Nothing can be in worse odor than our affairs at the court of Castile. The great lords, in particular, are considered as the source of all the mischief. Violent counsels are altogether in the ascendant, and the storm may burst on you sooner than you think. Nothing remains but to fly from it like a prudent man, or to face it like a brave one!" [47]

William had other sources of intelligence, the secret agents whom he kept in pay at Madrid. From them he learned not only what was passing at the court, but in the very cabinet of the monarch; and extracts, sometimes full copies, of the correspondence of Philip and Margaret were transmitted to the prince. Thus the secrets which the most jealous prince in Europe supposed to be locked in his own breast were often in possession of his enemies; and William, as we are told, declared that there was no word of Philip's, public or private, but was reported to his ears! [48]

This secret intelligence, on which the prince expended large sums of money, was not confined to Madrid. He maintained a similar system of espionage in Paris, where the court of Castile was

[47] "Questo è il nuvolo che minaccia ora i nostri paesi; e n' uscirà la tempesta forse prima che non si pensa. Chi la prevede ne dà l' avviso; e chi n' è avvisato, o con intrepidezza l' incontri, o con avvedimento la sfugga." Bentivoglio, Guerra di Fiandra, p. 118.

[48] "Nullum prodire è Regis ore verbum seu privatè seu publicè, quin ad ejus aures in Belgium fideliter afferatur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 281.

busy with its intrigues for the extermination of heresy. Those who look on these trickish proceedings as unworthy of the character of the prince of Orange and the position which he held should consider that it was in accordance with the spirit of the age. It was but turning Philip's own arts against himself, and using the only means by which William could hope to penetrate the dark and unscrupulous policy of a cabinet whose chief aim, as he thought, was to subvert the liberties of his country.

It was at this time that his agents in France intercepted a letter from Alava, the Spanish minister at the French court. It was addressed to the duchess of Parma. Among other things, the writer says it is well understood at Madrid that the great nobles are at the bottom of the troubles of Flanders. The king is levying a strong force, with which he will soon visit the country and call the three lords to a heavy reckoning. In the mean time the duchess must be on her guard not by any change in her deportment to betray her consciousness of this intent.[49]

Thus admonished from various quarters, the prince felt that it was no longer safe for him to remain in his present position, and that, in the words of Montigny, he must be prepared to fight or to fly. He resolved to take counsel with some of those friends who were similarly situated with himself. In a communication made to Egmont in order to persuade him to a conference, William

[49] An abstract of the letter is given by Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 485.

speaks of Philip's military preparations as equally to be dreaded by Catholic and Protestant; for, under the pretext of religion, Philip had no other object in view than to enslave the nation. "This has been always feared by us," he adds;[50] "and I cannot stay to witness the ruin of my country."

The parties met at Dendermonde on the third of October. Besides the two friends and Count Hoorne, there were William's brother Louis, and a few other persons of consideration. Little is actually known of the proceedings at this conference, notwithstanding the efforts of more than one officious chronicler to enlighten us. Their contradictory accounts, like so many cross-lights on his path, serve only to perplex the eye of the student. It seems probable, however, that the nobles generally, including the prince, considered the time had arrived for active measures, and that any armed intrusion on the part of Philip into the Netherlands should be resisted by force. But Egmont, with all his causes of discontent, was too loyal at heart not to shrink from the attitude of rebellion. He had a larger stake than most of the company, in a numerous family of children, who in case of a disastrous revolution would be thrown helpless on the world. The benignity with which he had been received by Philip on his mission to Spain, and which subsequent slights had not

[50] "Sa Mate et ceulx du Conseil seront bien aise que sur le prétext de la religion ils pourront parvenir à leur pretendu, de mestre le pais, nous aultres, et nous enfans en la plus misérable servitude qu'on n'auroit jamais veu, et come on ast tousjours craint cela plus que chose que soit." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 324.

effaced from his memory, made him confide, most unhappily, in the favorable dispositions of the monarch. From whatever motives, the count refused to become a party to any scheme of resistance; and, as his popularity with the troops made his co-operation of the last importance, the conference broke up without coming to a determination.[51]

Egmont at once repaired to Brussels, whither he had been summoned by the regent to attend the council of state. Orange and Hoorne received, each, a similar summons, to which neither of them paid any regard. Before taking his seat at the board, Egmont showed the duchess Alava's letter, upbraiding her, at the same time, with her perfidious conduct towards the nobles. Margaret, who seems to have given way to temper or to tears as the exigency demanded, broke forth in a rage, declaring it "an impudent forgery and the greatest piece of villany in the world!"[52] The same sentiment she repeats in a letter addressed soon after to her brother, in which she asserts her belief that no such letter as that imputed to Alava had

[51] Egmont's deposition at his trial confirms the account given in the text,—that propositions for resistance, though made at the meeting, were rejected. Hoorne, in his "Justification," refers the failure to Egmont. Neither one nor the other throws light on the course of discussion. Bentivoglio, in his account of the interview, shows no such reserve; and he gives two long and elaborate speeches from Orange and Egmont, in as good set phrase as if they had been expressly reported by the parties themselves for publication. The Italian historian affects a degree of familiarity with the proceedings of this secret conclave by no means calculated to secure our confidence. Guerra di Fiandra, pp. 123–128.

[52] "Siesse qu'elle jure que s'et la plus grande vilagnerie du monde . . . et que s'et ung vray pasquil fameulx et qui doit ettre forgé pardechà, et beaucoup de chozes semblables." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 400.

ever been written by him. How far the duchess was honest in her declaration it is impossible at this day to determine. Egmont, after passing to other matters, concludes with a remark which shows, plainly enough, his own opinion of her sincerity. "In fine, she is a woman educated in Rome. There is no faith to be given to her." [53]

In her communication above noticed, Margaret took occasion to complain to Philip of his carelessness in regard to her letters. The contents of them, she said, were known in Flanders almost as soon as at Madrid; and not only copies, but the original autographs, were circulating in Brussels. She concludes by begging her brother, if he cannot keep her letters safe, to burn them.[54]

The king, in answer, expresses his surprise at her complaints, assuring Margaret that it is impossible any one can have seen her letters, which are safely locked up, with the key in his own pocket.[55] It is amusing to see Philip's incredulity in regard to the practice of those arts on himself which he had so often practised on others. His sister, however, seems to have relied henceforth

[53] "En fin s'et une femme nourie en Rome, il n'y at que ajouter foy." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 401.—Yet Egmont, on his trial, affirmed that he regarded the letter as spurious! (Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 327.) One who finds it impossible that the prince of Orange could lend himself to such a piece of duplicity may perhaps be staggered when he calls to mind his curious correspondence with the elector and with King Philip in relation to Anne of Saxony, before his marriage with that princess. Yet Margaret, as Egmont hints, was of the Italian school; and Strada, her historian, dismisses the question with a doubt,—"in medio ego quidem relinquo." A doubt from Strada is a decision against Margaret.

[54] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 474.

[55] Ibid., p. 491.

more on her own precautions than on his, as we find her communications from this time frequently shrouded in cipher.

Rumors of Philip's warlike preparations were now rife in the Netherlands; and the Protestants began to take counsel as to the best means of providing for their own defence. One plan suggested was to send thirty thousand Calvinistic tracts to Seville for distribution among the Spaniards.[56] This would raise a good crop of heresy, and give the king work to do in his own dominions. It would, in short, be carrying the war into the enemy's country. The plan, it must be owned, had the merit of novelty.

In Holland the nobles and merchants mutually bound themselves to stand by one another in asserting the right of freedom of conscience.[57] Levies went forward briskly in Germany, under the direction of Count Louis of Nassau. It was attempted, moreover, to interest the Protestant princes of that country so far in the fate of their brethren in the Netherlands as to induce them to use their good offices with Philip to dissuade him from violent measures. The emperor had already offered privately his own mediation to the king, to bring about, if possible, a better understanding with his Flemish subjects.[58] The offer made in so friendly a spirit, though warmly commended by some of the council, seems to have found no favor in the eyes of their master.[59]

[56] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 282.
[57] Ibid., ubi supra.
[58] Hopper, Recueil et Mémorial, p. 109.
[59] Ibid., p. 113.

The princes of Germany who had embraced the Reformation were Lutherans. They had almost as little sympathy with the Calvinists as with the Catholics. Men of liberal minds in the Netherlands, like William and his brother, would gladly have seen the two great Protestant parties which divided their country united on some common basis. They would have had them, in short, in a true Christian spirit, seek out the points on which they could agree rather than those on which they differed,—points of difference which, in William's estimation, were after all of minor importance. He was desirous that the Calvinists should adopt a confession of faith accommodated in some degree to the "Confession of Augsburg,"—a step which would greatly promote their interests with the princes of Germany.[60]

But the Calvinists were altogether the dominant party in the Low Countries. They were thoroughly organized, and held their consistories, composed of a senate and a sort of lower house, in many of the great towns, all subordinate to the great consistory at Antwerp. They formed, in short, what the historian well calls an independent Protestant republic.[61] * Strong in their power,

[60] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. p. 391.

[61] "Prætereà consistoria, id est senatus ac cœtus, multis in urbibus, sicuti jam Antverpiæ cæperant, instituerunt: creatis Magistratibus, Senatoribusque, quorum consiliis (sed anteà cum Antverpianâ curiâ quam esse principem voluere, communicatis) universa hæreticorum Respub. temperaretur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 283.

* [Every Calvinistic church was virtually an independent republic. In that fact was the great strength of Calvinism. The Lutherans among the Germans hated the Calvinists almost as much as they did the Romanists.—M.]

sturdy in their principles, they refused to bend in any degree to circumstances, or to make any concession or any compromise with the weaker party. The German princes, disgusted with this conduct, showed no disposition to take any active measures in their behalf, and, although they made some efforts in favor of the Lutherans, left their Calvinistic brethren in the Netherlands to their fate.

It was generally understood at this time that the prince of Orange had embraced Lutheran opinions. His wife's uncle, the landgrave of Hesse, pressed him publicly to avow his belief. To this the prince objected that he should thus become the open enemy of the Catholics, and probably lose his influence with the Calvinists, already too well disposed to acts of violence.[62] Yet not long after we find William inquiring of the landgrave if it would not be well to advise the king, in terms as little offensive as possible, of his change of religion, asking the royal permission, at the same time, to conform his worship to it.[63]

William's father had been a Lutheran, and in that faith had lived and died. In that faith he had educated his son. When only eleven years old, the latter, as we have seen, was received into the imperial household. The plastic mind of boyhood readily took its impressions from those around, and without much difficulty, or indeed examination, William conformed to the creed fashionable at the court of Castile. In this faith—if so it should be called—the prince remained during the lifetime of

[62] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. ii. pp. 455, 456.
[63] Ibid., p. 496.

the emperor. Then came the troubles of the Netherlands; and William's mind yielded to other influences. He saw the workings of Catholicism under a terrible aspect. He beheld his countrymen dragged from their firesides, driven into exile, thrown into dungeons, burned at the stake, and all this for no other cause than dissent from the dogmas of the Romish Church. His soul sickened at these enormities, and his indignation kindled at this invasion of the inalienable right of private judgment. Thus deeply interested for the oppressed Protestants, it was natural that William should feel a sympathy for their cause. His wife, too, was a Lutheran. So was his mother, still surviving. So were his brothers and sisters, and indeed all those nearest akin to him. Under these influences, public and domestic, it was not strange that he should have been led to review the grounds of his own belief; that he should have gradually turned to the faith of his parents,—the faith in which he had been nutured in childhood.[64] At what precise period the change in his opinions took place we are not informed. But his letter to the landgrave of Hesse, in November, 1566, affords, so far as I am aware, the earliest evidence that exists, under his own hand, that he had embraced the doctrines of the Reformation.

[64] I quote almost the words of William in his famous Apology, which suggests the same explanation of his conduct that I have given in the text: "Car puis que dés le berceau j'y avois esté nourry, Monsieur mon Pere y avoit vescu, y estoit mort, ayant chassé de ses Seigneuries les abus de l'Eglise, qui est-ce qui trouvera estrange si cette doctrine estoit tellement engravée en mon cœur, et y avoit jetté telles racines, qu'en son temps elle est venuë à apporter ses fruits." Dumont, Corps diplomatique, tom. v. part. i. p. 392.

CHAPTER XIII

THE REGENT'S AUTHORITY RE-ESTABLISHED

Reaction—Appeal to Arms—Tumult in Antwerp—Siege of Valenciennes—The Government triumphant

1566, 1567

THE excesses of the iconoclasts, like most excesses, recoiled on the heads of those who committed them. The Roman Catholic members of the league withdrew, as we have seen, from an association which connected them, however remotely, with deeds so atrocious. Other Catholics, who had looked with no unfriendly eye on the revolution, now that they saw it was to go forward over the ruins of their religion, were only eager to show their detestation of it and their loyalty to the government. The Lutherans, who, as already noticed, had never moved in much harmony with the Calvinists, were anxious to throw the whole blame of the excesses on the rival sect; and thus the breach, growing wider and wider between the two great divisions of the Protestants, worked infinite prejudice to the common cause of reform. Lastly, men like Egmont, who from patriotic motives had been led to dally with the revolution in its infancy, seeming indeed almost ready to embrace it, now turned coldly away and hastened to make their peace with the regent.

Margaret felt the accession of strength she was daily deriving from these divisions of her enemies, and she was not slow to profit by it. As she had no longer confidence in those on whom she had hitherto relied for support, she was now obliged to rely more exclusively on herself. She was indefatigable in her application to business. "I know not," writes her secretary, Armenteros, "how the regent contrives to live, amidst the disgusts and difficulties which incessantly beset her. For some months she has risen before dawn. Every morning and evening, sometimes oftener, she calls her council together. The rest of the day and night she is occupied with giving audiences, or with receiving despatches and letters, or in answering them." [1]

Margaret now bent all her efforts to retrace the humiliating path into which she had been led, and to re-establish the fallen authority of the crown. If she did not actually revoke the concessions wrung from her, she was careful to define them so narrowly that they should be of little service to any one. She wrote to the governors of the provinces that her license for public preaching was to be taken literally, and was by no means intended to cover the performance of other religious rites, as those of baptism, marriage, and burial, which

[1] "Il y a plus de trois mois, qu' elle se lève avant le jour, et que le plus souvent elle tient conseil le matin et le soir; et tout le reste de la journée et de la nuit, elle le consacre à donner des audiences, à lire les lettres et les avis qui arrivent de toutes parts, et à déterminer les résponses à y faire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 496.—Sleep seems to have been as superfluous to Margaret as to a hero of romance.

she understood were freely practised by the reformed ministers. She published an edict reciting the terrible penalties of the law against all offenders in this way, and she enjoined the authorities to enforce the execution of it to the letter.[2]

The Protestants loudly complained of what they termed a most perfidious policy on the part of the regent. The right of public preaching, they said, naturally included that of performing the other religious ceremonies of the Reformed Church. It was a cruel mockery to allow men to profess a religion and yet not to practise the rites which belong to it. The construction given by Margaret to her edict must be admitted to savor somewhat of the spirit of that given by Portia to Shylock's contract. The pound of flesh might indeed be taken; but if so much as a drop of blood followed, woe to him that took it!

This measure was succeeded by others on the part of the government of a still more decisive character. Instead of the civil magistracy, Margaret now showed her purpose to call in the aid of a strong military force to execute the laws. She ordered into the country the levies lately raised for her in Germany. These she augmented by a number of Walloon regiments; and she placed them under the command of Aremberg, Megen, and other leaders in whom she confided. She did not even omit the prince of Orange, for, though Margaret had but little confidence in William, she did not care to break with him. To the provincial governors she wrote to strengthen themselves as much

[2] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 289, 290.

as possible by additional recruits; and she ordered them to introduce garrisons into such places as had shown favor to the new doctrines.

The province of Hainault was that which gave the greatest uneasiness to the regent. The spirit of independence was proverbially high among the people, and the neighborhood of France gave easy access to the Huguenot ministers, who reaped an abundant harvest in the great towns of that district. The flourishing commercial city of Valenciennes was particularly tainted with heresy. Margaret ordered Philip de Noircarmes, governor of Hainault, to secure the obedience of the place by throwing into it a garrison of three companies of horse and as many of foot.

When the regent's will was announced to the people of Valenciennes, it met at first with no opposition. But among the ministers in the town was a Frenchman named La Grange, a bold enthusiast, gifted with a stirring eloquence, which gave him immense ascendency over the masses. This man told the people that to receive a garrison would be the death-blow to their liberties, and that those of the reformed religion would be the first victims. Thus warned, the citizens were now even more unanimous in refusing a garrison than they had before been in their consent to admit one. Noircarmes, though much surprised by this sudden change, gave the inhabitants some days to consider the matter before placing themselves in open resistance to the government. The magistrates and some of the principal persons in the town were willing to obey his requisition, and besought La

Grange to prevail on the people to consent to it. "I would rather," replied the high-spirited preacher, "that my tongue should cleave to the roof of my mouth, and that I should become dumb as a fish, than open my lips to persuade the people to consent to so cruel and outrageous an act." [3] Finding the inhabitants still obstinate, the general, by Margaret's orders, proclaimed the city to be in a state of rebellion,—proscribed the persons of the citizens as traitors to their sovereign, and confiscated their property. At the same time, active preparations were begun for laying siege to the place, and proclamation was made in the regent's name, prohibiting the people of the Netherlands from affording any aid, by counsel, arms, or money, to the rebellious city, under the penalties incurred by treason.

But the inhabitants of Valenciennes, sustained by the promises of their preacher, were nothing daunted by these measures, nor by the formidable show of troops which Noircarmes was assembling under their walls. Their town was strongly situated, tolerably well victualled for a siege, and filled with a population of hardy burghers devoted to the cause, whose spirits were raised by the exhortations of the consistories in the neighboring provinces to be of good courage, as their brethren would speedily come to their relief.

The high-handed measures of the government

[3] "J'aimerais mieux que ma langue fût attachée au palais, et devenir muet, comme un poisson, que d'ouvrir la bouche pour persuader au peuple chose tant cruelle et déraisonnable." Chronique contemporaine, cited by Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 561, note.

caused great consternation through the country, especially among those of the reformed religion. A brisk correspondence went on between the members of the league and the consistories. Large sums were raised by the merchants well affected to the cause, in order to levy troops in Germany, and were intrusted to Brederode for the purpose. It was also determined that a last effort should be made to soften the duchess by means of a petition which that chief, at the head of four hundred knights, was to bear to Brussels. But Margaret had had enough of petitions, and she bluntly informed Brederode that if he came in that guise he would find the gates of Brussels shut against him.

Still the sturdy cavalier was not to be balked in his purpose; and, by means of an agent, he caused the petition to be laid before the regent. It was taken up mainly with a remonstrance on the course pursued by Margaret, so much at variance with her promises. It particularly enlarged on the limitation of her license for public preaching. In conclusion, it besought the regent to revoke her edict, to disband her forces, to raise the siege of Valenciennes, and to respect the agreement she had made with the league; in which case they were ready to assure her of their support in maintaining order.

Margaret laid the document before her council, and on the sixteenth of February, 1567, an answer, which might be rather said to be addressed to the country at large than to Brederode, was published. The duchess intimated her surprise that any mention should be made of the league, as she had supposed that body had ceased to exist, since so many

of its members had been but too glad, after the late outrages, to make their peace with the government. As to her concession of public preaching, it could hardly be contended that that was designed to authorize the sectaries to lay taxes, levy troops, create magistrates, and to perform, among other religious rites, that of marriage, involving the transfer of large amounts of property. She could hardly be thought mad enough to invest them with powers like these. She admonished the petitioners not to compel their sovereign to forego his native benignity of disposition. It would be well for them, she hinted, to give less heed to public affairs, and more to their own; and she concluded with the assurance that she would take good care that the ruin which they so confidently predicted for the country should not be brought about by them.[4]

The haughty tone of the reply showed too plainly that the times were changed,—that Margaret was now conscious of her strength, and meant to use it. The confederates felt that the hour had come for action. To retrace their steps was impossible. Yet their present position was full of peril. The rumor went that King Philip was soon to come, at the head of a powerful force, to take vengeance on his enemies. To remain as they were, without resistance, would be to offer their necks to the stroke of the executioner. An appeal to arms was all that was left to them. This

[4] "Suadere itaque illis, ut à publicis certè negotiis abstineant, ac res quique suas in posterum curent: néve Regem brevî affecturum ingenitæ benignitatis oblivisci cogant. Se quidem omni ope curaturam, ne, quam ipsi ruinam comminentur, per hæc vulgi turbamenta Belgium patiatur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 295.

was accordingly resolved on. The standard of revolt was raised. The drum beat to arms in the towns and villages, and recruits were everywhere enlisted. Count Louis was busy in enforcing levies in Germany. Brederode's town of Viana was named as the place of rendezvous. That chief was now in his element. His restless spirit delighted in scenes of tumult. He had busied himself in strengthening the works of Viana and in furnishing it with artillery and military stores. Thence he had secretly passed over to Amsterdam, where he was occupied in organizing resistance among the people, already, by their fondness for the new doctrines, well disposed to it.

Hostilities first broke out in Brabant, where Count Megen was foiled in an attempt on Bois-le-Duc, which had refused to receive a garrison. He was more fortunate in an expedition against the refractory city of Utrecht, which surrendered without a struggle to the royalist chief.

In other quarters the insurgents were not idle. A body of some two thousand men, under Marnix, lord of Thoulouse, brother of the famous St. Aldegonde, made a descent on the island of Walcheren, where it was supposed Philip would land. But they were baffled in their attempts on this place by the loyalty and valor of the inhabitants. Failing in this scheme, Thoulouse was compelled to sail up the Scheldt, until he reached the little village of Austruweel, about a league from Antwerp. There he disembarked his whole force, and took up his quarters in the dwellings of the inhabitants. From this place he sallied out, making depredations on

the adjoining country, burning the churches, sacking the convents, and causing great alarm to the magistrates of Antwerp by the confidence which his presence gave to the reformed party in that city.

Margaret saw the necessity of dislodging the enemy without delay from this dangerous position. She despatched a body of Walloons on the service, under command of an experienced officer, Philippe de Lannoy, lord of Beauvoir. Her orders show the mood she was in. "They are miscreants," she said, "who have placed themselves beyond the pale of mercy. Show them no mercy, then, but exterminate with fire and sword!"[5] Lannoy, by a rapid march, arrived at Austruweel. Though taken unawares, Thoulouse and his men made a gallant resistance; and a fierce action took place almost under the walls of Antwerp.

The noise of the musketry soon brought the citizens to the ramparts; and the dismay of the Calvinists was great as they beheld the little army of Thoulouse thus closely beset by their enemies. Furious at the spectacle, they now called on one another to rush to the rescue of their friends. Pouring down from the ramparts, they hurried to the gates of the city. But the gates were locked. This had been done by the order of the prince of Orange, who had moreover caused a bridge across the Scheldt to be broken down, to cut off all communication between the city and the camp of Thoulouse.

[5] "Nec ullis conditionibus flecti te patere ad clementiam; sed homines scelestos, atque indeprecabile supplicium commeritos, ferro et igni quamprimùm dele." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 300.

The people now loudly called on the authorities to deliver up the keys, demanding for what purpose the gates were closed. Their passions were kindled to madness by the sight of the wife—now, alas! the widow—of Thoulouse, who, with streaming eyes and dishevelled hair, rushing wildly into the crowd, besought them piteously to save her husband and their own brethren from massacre.

It was too late. After a short though stout resistance, the insurgents had been driven from the field, and taken refuge in their defences. These were soon set on fire. Thoulouse, with many of his followers, perished in the flames. Others, to avoid this dreadful fate, cut their way through the enemy, and plunged into the Scheldt, which washes the base of the high land occupied by the village. There they miserably perished in its waters, or were pierced by the lances of the enemy, who hovered on its borders. Fifteen hundred were slain. Three hundred, who survived, surrendered themselves prisoners. But Lannoy feared an attempt at rescue from the neighboring city; and, true to the orders of the regent, he massacred nearly all of them on the spot![6]

While this dismal tragedy was passing, the mob imprisoned within the walls of Antwerp was raging and bellowing like the waves of the ocean chafing wildly against the rocks that confine them. With fierce cries, they demanded that the gates

[6] "Periere in eâ pugnâ, quæ prima cum rebellibus commissa est in Belgio, Gheusiorum mille ac quingenti: capti circiter trecenti, jugulatique pænè omnes Beavorii jussu, quod erupturi Antverpienses, opemque reliquiis victæ factionis allaturi crederentur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 301.

should be opened, calling on the magistrates with bitter imprecations to deliver up the keys. The magistrates had no mind to face the infuriated populace. But the prince of Orange fortunately, at this crisis, did not hesitate to throw himself into the midst of the tumult and take on himself the whole responsibility of the affair. It was by his command that the gates had been closed, in order that the regent's troops, if victorious, might not enter the city and massacre those of the reformed religion. This plausible explanation did not satisfy the people. Some called out that the true motive was, not to save the Calvinists in the city, but to prevent their assisting their brethren in the camp. One man, more audacious than the rest, raised a musket to the prince's breast, saluting him, at the same time, with the epithet of "traitor!" But the fellow received no support from his companions, who, in general, entertained too great respect for William to offer any violence to his person.

Unable to appease the tumult, the prince was borne along by the tide, which now rolled back from the gates to the Meir Bridge, where it soon received such accessions that the number amounted to more than ten thousand. The wildest schemes were then agitated by the populace, among whom no one appeared to take the lead. Some were for seizing the Hôtel de Ville and turning out the magistrates. Others were for sacking the convents, and driving their inmates, as well as all priests, from the city. Meanwhile, they had got possession of some pieces of artillery from the

arsenal, with which they fortified the bridge. Thus passed the long night,—the armed multitude gathered together like a dark cloud, ready at any moment to burst in fury on the city, while the defenceless burghers, especially those who had any property at stake, were filled with the most dismal apprehensions.

Yet the Catholics contrived to convey some casks of powder, it is said, under the Meir Bridge, resolving to blow it into the air, with all upon it, as soon as their enemies should make a hostile movement.

All eyes were now turned on the prince of Orange, as the only man at all capable of extricating them from their perilous situation. William had stationed a guard over the mint, and another at the Hôtel de Ville, to protect these buildings from the populace. A great part of this anxious night he spent in endeavoring to bring about such an understanding between the two great parties of the Catholics and the Lutherans as should enable them to act in concert. This was the less difficult on account of the jealousy which the latter sect entertained of the Calvinists. The force thus raised was swelled by the accession of the principal merchants and men of substance, as well as most of the foreigners resident in the city, who had less concern for spiritual matters than for the security of life and fortune. The following morning beheld the mob of Calvinists formed into something like a military array, their green and white banners bravely unfurled, and the cannon which they had taken from the arsenal posted

in front. On the opposite side of the great square before the Hôtel de Ville were gathered the forces of the prince of Orange, which, if wanting artillery, were considerably superior in numbers to their adversaries. The two hosts now stood face to face, as if waiting only the signal to join in mortal conflict. But no man was found bold enough to give the signal for brother to lift his hand against brother.*

At this juncture William, with a small guard, and accompanied by the principal magistrates, crossed over to the enemy's ranks and demanded an interview with the leaders. He represented to them the madness of their present course, which, even if they were victorious, must work infinite mischief to the cause. It would be easy for them to obtain by fair means all they could propose by violence; and for his own part, he concluded, however well disposed to them he now might be, if a single drop of blood were shed in this quarrel, he would hold them from that hour as enemies.

The remonstrance of the prince, aided by the conviction of their own inferiority in numbers, prevailed over the stubborn temper of the Calvinists. They agreed to an accommodation, one of the articles of which was that no garrison should be admitted within the city. The prince of Orange

* [Some of the particulars in the foregoing account seem open to doubt. According to other relations, the bridge destroyed by Orange was merely one of the drawbridges of the fortifications, and the assembly of the people took place in the Place de Meir, which is not near the Scheldt. Yet, as Austruweel lies on the opposite bank, the threatened egress must have been in the direction of the river. Guicciardini, in his minute description of Antwerp, makes no mention of a bridge, though one is figured in his plan of the city.—K.]

subscribed and swore to the treaty, on behalf of his party; and it is proof of the confidence that even the Calvinists reposed in him, that they laid down their arms sooner than either the Lutherans or the Catholics. Both these, however, speedily followed their example. The martial array which had assumed so menacing an aspect soon melted away. The soldier of an hour, subsiding into the quiet burgher, went about his usual business; and tranquillity and order once more reigned within the walls of Antwerp. Thus by the coolness and discretion of a single man the finest city in the Netherlands was saved from irretrievable ruin.[7]

It was about the middle of March, 1567, that the disturbances occurred at Antwerp. During this time Noircarmes was enforcing the blockade of Valenciennes, but with little prospect of bringing it to a speedy issue. The inhabitants, confident in their strength, had made more than one successful sally, burning the cloisters in which the general had lodged part of his troops, and carrying back considerable booty into the city. It was evident that to reduce the place by blockade would be a work of no little time.

Margaret wrote to her brother to obtain his permission to resort to more vigorous measures, and, without further delay, to bombard the place. But

[7] For the account of the troubles in Antwerp, see Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 226, et seq.—Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 59.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 300–303.—Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 247.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 526, 527.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, pp. 314–317.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

Philip peremptorily refused. It was much to his regret, he said, that the siege of so fair a city had been undertaken. Since it had been, nothing remained but to trust to a blockade for its reduction.[8]

At this time an army of the confederates, some three or four thousand strong, appeared in the neighborhood of Tournay, designed partly to protect that town, which had refused a garrison, and partly to create a diversion in favor of Valenciennes. No sooner had Noircarmes got tidings of this, than, leaving a sufficient detachment to carry on the blockade, he made a rapid march with the rest of his forces, came suddenly on the enemy, engaged him in a pitched battle, completely routed him, and drove his scattered legions up to the walls of Tournay. That city, now incapable of resistance, opened its gates at once, and submitted to the terms of the conqueror, who soon returned, with his victorious army, to resume the siege of Valenciennes.

But the confidence of the inhabitants was not shaken. On the contrary, under the delusive promises of their preacher, it seemed to rise higher than ever, and they rejected with scorn every invitation to surrender. Again the regent wrote to her brother that unless he allowed more active operations, there was great danger the place would be relieved by the Huguenots on the frontier, or by the *Gueux*, whose troops were scattered through the country.

Urged by the last consideration, Philip yielded a reluctant assent to his sister's wishes. But in his

[8] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 310.

letter, dated on the thirteenth of March, he insisted that, before resorting to violence, persuasion and menace should be first tried, and that, in case of an assault, great care should be had that no harm came to the old and infirm, to women or children, to any, in short, who were not found actually in arms against the government.[9] The clemency shown by Philip on this occasion reflects infinite credit on him; and if it be disposed of by some as mere policy, it must be allowed to be a policy near akin to humanity. It forms a striking contrast with the ferocious mood in which Margaret indulged at this time, when she seems to have felt that a long arrear of vengeance was due for the humiliations she had been compelled to endure.

The regent lost no time in profiting by the royal license. She first, however, proposed, in obedience to her instructions, to see what could be done by milder measures. She sent two envoys, Count Egmont and the duke of Aerschot, to Valenciennes, in order to expostulate with the citizens and if possible bring them to reason. The two nobles represented to the people the folly of attempting to cope, thus single-handed, as it were, with the government. Their allies had been discomfited one after another. With the defeat before Tournay must have faded the last ray of hope. They besought the citizens to accept, while there was time, the grace proffered them by the

[9] Strada gives an extract from the letter: "Deinde si deditio non sequeretur, invaderent quidem urbem, quodque militum est, agerent; à cædibus tamen non puerorum modò, senúmque ac mulierum abstinerent; sed civium nullus, nisi dum inter propugnandum se hostem gereret, enecaretur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 311.

duchess, who was willing, if the town submitted, that such as chose to leave it might take their effects and go wherever they listed.

But the people of Valenciennes, fortified by the promises of their leaders, and with a blind confidence in their own resources, which had hitherto proved effectual, held lightly both the arguments and offers of the envoys, who returned to the camp of Noircarmes greatly disgusted with the ill success of their mission. There was no room for further delay, and preparations were made for reducing the place by more active operations.

Valenciennes stands on the crest of an eminence that sweeps down by a gradual slope towards the river Scheldt, which, washing the walls of the city, forms a good defence on that quarter. The ramparts encompassing the town, originally strong and of great thickness, were now somewhat impaired by age. They were protected by a wide ditch, which in some places was partially choked up with rubbish. The walls were well lined with artillery, and the magazines provided with ammunition. In short, the place was one which in earlier days, from the strength of its works as well as its natural position, might have embarrassed an army more formidable than that which now lay before it.

The first step of Noircarmes was to contract his lines and closely to invest the town. He next availed himself of a dark and stormy night to attack one of the suburbs, which he carried after a sharp engagement and left in the charge of some companies of Walloons.

The following day these troops opened a brisk

fire on the soldiers who defended the ramparts, which was returned by the latter with equal spirit. But, while amusing the enemy in this quarter, Noircarmes ordered a battery to be constructed, consisting at first of ten, afterwards of twenty, heavy guns and mortars, besides some lighter pieces. From this battery he opened a well-directed and most disastrous fire on the city, demolishing some of the principal edifices, which, from their size, afforded a prominent mark. The great tower of St. Nicholas, on which some heavy ordnance was planted, soon crumbled under this fierce cannonade, and its defenders were buried in its ruins. At length, at the end of four hours, the inhabitants, unable longer to endure the storm of shot and shells which penetrated every quarter of the town, so far humbled their pride as to request a parley. To this Noircarmes assented, but without intermitting his fire for a moment.

The deputies informed the general that the city was willing to capitulate on the terms before proposed by the Flemish nobles. But Noircarmes contemptuously told them that "things were not now as they then were, and it was not his wont to talk of terms with a fallen enemy." [10] The deputies, greatly discomfited by the reply, returned to report the failure of their mission to their townsmen.

Meanwhile the iron tempest continued with pitiless fury. The wretched people could find no

[10] "Quasi verò, inquit, vestra conditio eadem hodie sit, ac nudiustertius. Serò sapitis Valencenates: ego certè conditionibus non transigo cadente cum hoste." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 314.

refuge from it in their dwellings, which filled the streets with their ruins. It was not, however, till two-and-thirty hours more had passed away that a practicable breach was made in the walls; while the rubbish which had tumbled into the fosse from the crumbling ramparts afforded a tolerable passage for the besiegers, on a level nearly with the breach itself. By this passage Noircarmes now prepared to march into the city, through the open breach, at the head of his battalions.

The people of Valenciennes too late awoke from their delusion. They were no longer cheered by the voice of their fanatical leader, for he had provided for his own safety by flight; and, preferring any fate to that of being delivered over to the ruthless soldiery of Noircarmes, they offered at once to surrender the town at discretion, throwing themselves on the mercy of their victor. Six-and-thirty hours only had elapsed since the batteries of the besiegers had opened their fire, and during that time three thousand bombs had been thrown into the city;[11] which was thought scarcely less than a miracle in that day.

On the second of April, 1567, just four months after the commencement of the siege, the victorious army marched into Valenciennes. As it defiled through the long and narrow streets, which showed signs of the dismal fray in their shattered

[11] "Feruntque ter millies explosas murales machinas, mœnium quàm hominum majori strage." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 314.*

* [The "murales machinas," "bombardæ," etc., mentioned by Strada, were merely cannon of the different kinds then in use. Bomb-shells were not invented till later.—K.]

edifices and in the dead and dying still stretched on the pavement, it was met by troops of women and young maidens bearing green branches in their hands and deprecating with tears and piteous lamentations the wrath of the conquerors. Noircarmes marched at once to the town-house, where he speedily relieved the municipal functionaries of all responsibility, by turning them out of office. His next care was to seize the persons of the zealous ministers and the other leaders. Many had already contrived to make their escape. Most of these were soon after taken, the preacher La Grange among the rest, and to the number of thirty-six were sentenced either to the scaffold or the gallows.[12] The general then caused the citizens to be disarmed, and the fortifications, on which were mounted eighty pieces of artillery, to be dismantled. The town was deprived of its privileges and immunities, and a heavy fine imposed on the inhabitants to defray the charges of the war. The Protestant worship was abolished, the churches were restored to their former occupants, and none but the Roman Catholic service was allowed henceforth to be performed in the city.

The bishop of Arras was invited to watch over

[12] So states Margaret's historian, who would not be likely to exaggerate the number of those who suffered. The loyal president of Mechlin dismisses the matter more summarily, without specifying any number of victims: "El señor de Noilcarmes se aseguró de muchos prisioneros principales Borgeses y de otros que avian sido los autores de la rebelion, á los quales se hizo luego en diligencia su pleyto." (Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.) Brandt, the historian of the Reformation (vol. i. p. 251), tells us that two hundred *were said* to have perished by the hands of the hangman at Valenciennes, on account of the religious troubles, in the course of this year.

the spiritual concerns of the inhabitants, and a strong garrison of eight battalions was quartered in the place, to secure order and maintain the authority of the crown.[13]

The keys of Valenciennes, it was commonly said, opened to the regent the gates of all the refractory cities of the Netherlands. Maestricht, Turnhout, Ghent, Ypres, Oudenarde, and other places which had refused to admit a garrison within their walls, now surrendered, one after another, to Margaret, and consented to receive her terms. In like manner Megen established the royal authority in the province of Gueldres, and Aremberg, after a more prolonged resistance, in Groningen and Friesland. In a few weeks, with the exception of Antwerp and some places in Holland, the victorious arms of the regent had subdued the spirit of resistance in every part of the country.[14] The movement of the insurgents had been premature.

[13] For information, more or less minute, in regard to the siege of Valenciennes, see Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 303–315.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, pp. 319–322.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 49.—Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 501.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

[14] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 315, 323, et seq.

CHAPTER XIV

TRANQUILLITY RESTORED

Oath imposed by Margaret—Refused by Orange—He leaves the Netherlands—Submission of the Country—New Edict—Order restored

1567

THE perplexities in which the regent had been involved had led her to conceive a plan, early in January, 1567, the idea of which may have been suggested by the similar plan of Viglius. This was to require an oath from the great nobles, the knights of the Golden Fleece, and those in high stations, civil or military, that they would yield implicit and unqualified obedience to the commands of the king, of whatever nature they might be. Her object in this measure was not to secure a test of loyalty. She knew full well who were the friends and who were the foes of the government. But she wished a decent apology for ridding herself of the latter; and it was made a condition that those who refused to take the oath were to be dismissed from office.

The measure seems to have met with no opposition when first started in the council; where Mansfeldt, Aerschot, Megen, Barlaimont, all signified their readiness to sign the oath. Egmont indeed raised some scruples. After the oath of allegiance he had once taken, a new one seemed

superfluous. The bare word of a man of honor and a chevalier of the Toison ought to suffice.[1] But, after a short correspondence on the subject, his scruples vanished before the arguments or persuasions of the regent.

Brederode, who held a military command, was not of so accommodating a temper. He indignantly exclaimed that it was a base trick of the government, and he understood the drift of it. He refused to subscribe the oath, and at once threw up his commission. The Counts Hoorne and Hoogstraten declined also, but in more temperate terms, and, resigning their employments, withdrew to their estates in the country.

The person of most importance was the prince of Orange, and it was necessary to approach him with the greatest caution. Margaret, it is true, had long since withdrawn from him her confidence. But he had too much consideration and authority in the country for her to wish to break with him. Nor would she willingly give him cause of disgust. She accordingly addressed him a note, couched in the most insinuating terms she had at her command.

She could not doubt he would be ready to set a good example, when his example would be so important in the perplexed condition of the country. Rumors had been circulated to the prejudice of

[1] "Il ne comprenait pas pourquoi la gouvernante insistait, après qu'il lui avait écrit une lettre de sa main, contenant tout ce que S. A. pouvait désirer d'un gentilhomme d'honneur, chevalier de l'Ordre, naturel vassal du Roi, et qui toute sa vie avait fait le devoir d'homme de bien, comme il le faisait encore journellement." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 321.

his loyalty. She did not give them credit. She could not for a moment believe that he would so far dishonor his great name and his illustrious descent as to deserve such a reproach; and she had no doubt he would gladly avail himself of the present occasion to wipe away all suspicion.[2]

The despatch enclosed a form of the oath, by which the party was to bind himself to "serve the king, and act for or against whomever his majesty might command, without restriction or limitation," [3] on pain of being dismissed from office.

William was not long in replying to a requisition to obey which would leave him less freedom than might be claimed by the meanest peasant in the country. On the twenty-eighth of April, the same day on which he received the letter, he wrote to the regent, declining in the most positive terms to take the oath. Such an act, he said, would of itself imply that he had already violated the oath he had previously taken. Nor could he honorably take it, since it might bind him to do what would be contrary to the dictates of his own conscience, as well as to what he conceived to be the true interests of his majesty and the country.[4] He was

[2] "Ferez cesser les calumnies que dictes se semer contre vous, ensamble tous ces bruits que scavez courrir de vous, encoires que en mon endroict je les tiens faulx et que à tort ils se dyent; ne pouvant croire que en ung cœur noble et de telle extraction que vous estes, successeur des Seigneurs," etc. Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 44.

[3] "Servir et m'employer envers et contre tous, et comme me sera ordonné de sa part, sans limitation ou restrinction." Ibid., ubi supra.

[4] "Je seroys aulcunement obligé et constrainct, le cas advenant, que on me viendroict à commander chose qui pourroit venir contre ma conscience ou au déservice de Sa Ma^te^ et du pays." Ibid., p. 46.

aware that such a demand on the regent's part was equivalent to a dismissal from office. He begged her, therefore, to send some one fully empowered to receive his commissions, since he was ready forthwith to surrender them. As for himself, he should withdraw from the Netherlands and wait until his sovereign had time to become satisfied of his fidelity. But, wherever he might be, he should ever be ready to devote both life and property to the service of the king and the common weal of the country.[5]

Whatever hesitation the prince of Orange may have before felt as to the course he was to take, it was clear the time had now come for decisive action. Though the steady advocate of political reform, his policy, as we have seen, had been to attempt this by constitutional methods, not by violence. But all his more moderate plans had been overthrown by the explosion of the iconoclasts. The outrages then perpetrated had both alienated the Catholics and disgusted the more moderate portion of the Protestants; while the divisions of the Protestants among themselves had so far paralyzed their action that the whole strength of the party of reform had never been fairly exerted in the conflict. That conflict, unprepared as the nation was for it, had been most disastrous. Everywhere the arms of the regent had been victorious. It was evident the hour for resistance had not yet come.

[5] "Vous asseurant que, où que seray, n'espargneray jamais mon corps ni mon bien pour le service de Sa Mate et le bien commun de ces pays." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 47.

Yet for William to remain in his present position was hazardous in the extreme. Rumors had gone abroad that the duke of Alva would soon be in the Netherlands, at the head of a force sufficient to put down all opposition. "Beware of Alva," said his wife's kinsman, the landgrave of Hesse, to William; "I know him well." [6] The prince of Orange also knew him well,—too well to trust him. He knew the hard, inexorable nature of the man who was now coming with an army at his back and clothed with the twofold authority of judge and executioner. The first blow would, he knew, be aimed at the highest mark. To await Alva's coming would be to provoke his fate. Yet the prince felt all the dreariness of his situation. "I am alone," he wrote to the Landgrave William of Hesse, "with dangers menacing me on all sides, yet without one trusty friend to whom I can open my heart." [7]

Margaret seems to have been less prepared than might have been expected for the decision of Orange. Yet she determined not to let him depart from the country without an effort to retain him. She accordingly sent her secretary, Berty, to the prince at Antwerp, to enter into the matter more freely, and, if possible, prevail on him to review the grounds of his decision. William freely, and at some length, stated his reasons for declining the oath. "If I thus blindly surrender myself to the

[6] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 42.

[7] "In ansehung das wir in dissen länden allein seindt, und in höchsten nöten und gefehrden leibs und lebens stecken, und keinen vertrauwen freundt umb uns haben, deme wir unser gemüthe und hertz recht eröffnen dörffen." Ibid., p. 39.

will of the king, I may be driven to do what is most repugnant to my principles, especially in the stern mode of dealing with the sectaries. I may be compelled to denounce some of my own family, even my wife, as Lutherans, and to deliver them into the hands of the executioner. Finally," said he, "the king may send some one in his royal name to rule over us, to whom it would be derogatory for me to submit." The name of "Alva" escaped, as if involuntarily, from his lips,—and he was silent.[8]

Berty endeavored to answer the objections of the prince, but the latter, interrupting him before he had touched on the duke of Alva, bluntly declared that the king would never be content while one of his great vassals was wedded to a heretic. It was his purpose, therefore, to leave the country at once, and retire to Germany; and with this remark he abruptly closed the conference.

The secretary, though mortified at his own failure, besought William to consent to an interview, before his departure, with Count Egmont, who, Berty trusted, might be more successful. To this William readily assented. This celebrated meeting took place at Willbroek, a village between Antwerp and Brussels. Besides the two lords there were only present Count Mansfeldt and the secretary.

After some discussion, in which each of the friends endeavored to win over the other to his own way of thinking, William expressed the hope that Egmont would save himself in time from this bloody tempest that, he predicted, was soon to fall

[8] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 319.

on the heads of the Flemish nobles.[9] "I trust in the clemency of my sovereign," answered the count: "he cannot deal harshly with men who have restored order to the country." "This clemency you so extol," replied William, "will be your ruin. Much I fear that the Spaniards will make use of you as a bridge to effect their entrance into the country!"[10] With this ominous prediction on his lips, he tenderly embraced the count, with tears in his eyes, bidding him a last farewell. And thus the two friends parted, like men who were never to meet again.

The different courses pursued by the two nobles were such as might be expected from the difference of both their characters and their circumstances. Egmont, ardent, hopeful, and confiding, easily surrendered himself to the illusions of his own fancy, as if events were to shape themselves according to his wishes. He had not the far-seeing eye of William, which seemed to penetrate into events as it did into characters. Nor had Egmont learned, like William, not to put his trust in princes. He was, doubtless, as sincerely attached to his country as the prince of Orange, and abhorred, like him, the system of persecution avowed by the government. But this persecution fell upon a party with whom he had little sympathy. William, on the other hand, was a member of that

[9] "Orasse illum, subduceret sese, gravidamque cruore tempestatem ab Hispaniâ impendentem Belgarum Procerum capitibus ne oppereturetur." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 321.

[10] "Perdet te, inquit Orangius, hæc quam jactas clementia Regis, Egmonti; ac videor mihi providere animo, utinam falso, te pontem scilicet futurum, quo Hispani calcato, in Belgium transmittant." Ibid., ubi supra.

party. A blow aimed at them was aimed also at him. It is easy to see how different were the stakes of the two nobles in the coming contest, both in respect to their sympathies and their interests. Egmont was by birth a Fleming. His estates were in Flanders, and there, too, were his hopes of worldly fortune. Exile to him would have been beggary and ruin. But a large, if not the larger, part of William's property lay without the confines of the Netherlands. In withdrawing to Germany, he went to his native land. His kindred were still there. With them he had maintained a constant correspondence, and there he would be welcomed by troops of friends. It was a home, and no place of exile, that William was to find in Germany.

Shortly after this interview, the prince went to his estates at Breda, there to remain a few days before quitting the country.[11] From Breda he wrote to Egmont, expressing the hope that, when he had weighed them in his mind, he would be contented with the reasons assigned for his departure. The rest he would leave to God, who would order all for his own glory. "Be sure," he added, "you have no friend more warmly devoted to you than myself; for the love of you is too deeply rooted in my heart to be weakened either by time or distance."[12] It is pleasing to see that party spirit had

[11] The secretary Pratz, in a letter of the fourteenth of April, thus kindly notices William's departure: "The prince has gone, taking along with him half a dozen heretical doctors and a good number of other seditious rogues." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 526.

[12] "Tibi vero hoc persuade amiciorem me te habere neminem cui quidvis libere imperare potes. Amor enim tui eas egit radices in

not, as in the case of more vulgar souls, the power to rend asunder the ties which had so long bound these great men to each other; to see them still turning back, with looks of accustomed kindness, when they were entering the paths that were to lead in such opposite directions.

William wrote also to the king, acquainting him with what he had done, and explaining the grounds of it; at the same time renewing the declaration that, wherever he might be, he trusted never to be found wanting to the obligations of a true and faithful vassal. Before leaving Breda, the prince received a letter from the politic regent, more amiable in its import than might have been expected. Perhaps it was not wholly policy that made her unwilling to part with him in anger. She expressed her readiness to do him any favor in her power. She had always felt for him, she said, the same affection as for her own son, and should ever continue to do so.[13]

On the last of April, William departed for Germany. He took with him all his household except his eldest son, the count of Buren, then a boy thirteen years old, who was pursuing his studies at the university of Louvain.[14] Perhaps William trusted

animo meo ut minui nullo temporis aut locorum intervallo possit." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 70.—It is not easy to understand why William should have resorted to Latin in his correspondence with Egmont.

[13] "Ayant tousjours porté en vostre endroit l'affection que je pourrois faire pour ung mien fils, ou parent bien proche. Et vous vous povez de ce confier, toutes les fois que les occasions se présenteront, que feray le mesme." Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, tom. ii. p. 371.

[14] William's only daughter was maid of honor to the regent, who made no objection to her accompanying her father, saying that on

to the immunities of Brabant, or to the tender age of the youth, for his protection. If so, he grievously miscalculated. The boy would serve as too important a hostage for his father, and Philip caused him to be transferred to Madrid, where, under the monarch's eye, he was educated in religious as well as in political sentiments very little in harmony with those of the prince of Orange. Fortunately, the younger brother, Maurice, who inherited the genius of his father, and was to carry down his great name to another generation, was allowed to receive his training under the paternal roof.[15]

Besides his family, William was accompanied by a host of friends and followers, some of them persons of high consideration, who preferred banishment with him to encountering the troubles that awaited them at home. Thus attended, he fixed his residence at Dillemburg, in Nassau, the seat of his ancestors, and the place of his own birth. He there occupied himself with studying the Lutheran doctrine under an experienced teacher of that persuasion;[16] and, while he kept a watchful eye on

the young lady's return she would find no diminution of the love that had been always shown to her. Ibid., ubi supra.

[15] According to Strada, some thought that William knew well what he was about when he left his son behind him at Louvain, and that he would have had no objection that the boy should be removed to Madrid,—considering that, if things went badly with himself, it would be well for the heir of the house to have a hold on the monarch's favor. This is rather a cool way of proceeding for a parent, it must be admitted. Yet it is not very dissimilar from that pursued by William's own father, who, a stanch Lutheran himself, allowed his son to form part of the imperial household and to be there nurtured in the Roman Catholic faith. See Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 373.

[16] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 100.

the events passing in his unhappy country, he endeavored to make himself acquainted with the principles of that glorious Reformation, of which, in connection with political freedom, he was one day to become the champion.

The departure of the prince of Orange caused general consternation in the Netherlands. All who were in any way compromised by the late disturbances watched more anxiously than ever the signs of the coming tempest, as they felt they had lost the pilot who alone could enable them to weather it. Thousands prepared to imitate his example by quitting the country before it was too late. Among those who fled were the Counts Culemborg, Berg, Hoogstraten, Louis of Nassau, and others of inferior note, who passed into Germany, where they gathered into a little circle round the prince, waiting, like him, for happier days.

Some of the great lords, who had held out against the regent, now left alone, intimated their willingness to comply with her demands. "Count Hoorne," she writes to Philip, "has offered his services to me, and declares his readiness to take the oath. If he has spoken too freely, he says, it was not from any disaffection to the government, but from a momentary feeling of pique and irritation. I would not drive him to desperation, and from regard to his kindred I have consented that he should take his seat in the council again." [17] The haughty tone of the duchess shows that she

[17] "Pour ne le jecter d'advantaige en désespoir et perdition, aussy en contemplation de ses parens et alliez, je n'ai peu excuser luy dire qu'il seroit doncques ainsy qu'il avait faict, et qu'il revinst au conseil." Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 238.

felt herself now so strongly seated as to be nearly indifferent whether the person she dealt with were friend or foe.[18]

Egmont, at this time, was endeavoring to make amends for the past by such extraordinary demonstrations of loyalty as should efface all remembrance of it. He rode through the land at the head of his troops, breaking up the consistories, arresting the rioters, and everywhere re-establishing the Catholic worship. He loudly declared that those who would remain his friends must give unequivocal proofs of loyalty to the crown and the Roman Catholic faith. Some of those with whom he had been most intimate, disgusted with this course, and distrusting, perhaps, such a deposit for their correspondence, sent back the letters they had received from him, and demanded their own in return.[19]

At Brussels Egmont entered into all the gayeties of the court, displaying his usual magnificence in costly fêtes and banquets, which the duchess of Parma sometimes honored with her presence. The count's name appears among those which she mentions to Philip as of persons well affected to the government. "It is impossible," she says, "not to be satisfied with his conduct."[20] Thus elated by the favor of the regent,—next in importance to

[18] William was generous enough to commend Hoorne for this step, expressing the hope that it might induce such a spirit of harmony in the royal council as would promote the interests of both king and country. See the letter, written in Latin, dated from Breda, April 14th, in Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 71.

[19] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 322.

[20] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 235.

that of royalty itself,—the ill-fated nobleman cherished the fond hope that the past would now be completely effaced from the memory of his master,—a master who might forget a benefit, but who was never known to forgive an injury.

The great towns throughout the land had now generally intimated their willingness to submit to the requisitions of Margaret, and many of them had admitted garrisons within their walls. Antwerp only, of the cities of Brabant, remained intractable. At length it yielded to the general impulse, and a deputation was sent to the regent to sue for her forgiveness and to promise that the leaders in the late disturbances should be banished from the city. This was a real triumph to the royal party, considering the motley character of the population, in which there was so large an infusion of Calvinism. But Margaret, far from showing her satisfaction, coolly answered that they must first receive a garrison; then she would intercede for them with the king, and would herself consent to take up her residence in the city. In this the inhabitants, now well humbled, affected willingly to acquiesce; and soon after Count Mansfeldt, at the head of sixteen companies of foot, marched into Antwerp in battle-array, and there quartered his soldiers as in a conquered capital.

A day was fixed for the regent's entry, which was to be made with all becoming pomp. Detachments of troops were stationed in the principal avenues, and on the thirteenth of April Margaret rode into Antwerp, escorted by twelve hundred

Walloons, and accompanied by the knights of the Golden Fleece, the great lords, and the provincial magistrates. As the glittering procession passed through the files of soldiery, along the principal streets, it was greeted with the huzzas of the fickle populace. Thus cheered on her way, the regent proceeded first to the cathedral, where *Te Deum* was chanted, and on her knees she returned thanks to the Almighty that this great city had been restored without battle or bloodshed to the king and the true faith.[21] As her eyes wandered over the desecrated altars and the walls despoiled of their ornaments, their rich sculpture and paintings, by the rude hand of violence, Margaret could not restrain her tears. Her first care was to recover, as far as possible, the stolen property, and repair the injuries to the building; the next, to punish the authors of these atrocities; and the execution in the market-place of four of the ringleaders proclaimed to the people of Antwerp that the reign of anarchy was over.

Margaret next caused the churches of the reformed party to be levelled with the ground. Those of the Romish faith, after being purified, and the marks of violence, as far as practicable, effaced, were restored to their ancient occupants. The Protestant schools were everywhere closed. The children who had been baptized with Protestant rites were now rebaptized after the Catholic.[22] In fine, the reformed worship was interdicted

[21] "Egit ipsa privatim magnæ Virgini grates, quòd ejus ope tantam urbem sine prælio ac sanguine, Religioni Regique reddidisset." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 328.

[22] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 254.

throughout the city, and that of the Romish Church, with its splendid ritual, was established in its place.

On occupying Antwerp, Margaret had allowed all who were not implicated in the late riots to leave the city with their effects. Great numbers now availed themselves of this permission, and the streets presented the melancholy spectacle of husbands parting from their wives, parents from their children, or, it might be, taking their families along with them to some kinder land, where they would be allowed to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences.

But even this glimmering of a tolerant spirit,—if so it can be called,—which Margaret exhibited at the outset, soon faded away before the dark spirit of the Inquisition. On the twenty-fourth of May, she published an edict written in the characters of blood which distinguished the worst times of Charles and Philip. By this edict, all who had publicly preached, or who had performed the religious exercises after the Protestant manner, all who had furnished the places of meeting, or had harbored or aided the preachers, all printers of heretical tracts, or artists who with their pencil had brought ridicule on the Church of Rome,—all, in short, who were guilty of these or similar iniquities, were to be punished with death and confiscation of property. Lighter offences were to be dealt with according to the measure of their guilt. The edict containing these humane provisions is of considerable length, and goes into a large specification of offences, from which few, if any, of the reformed

could have been entirely exempt.[23] When this ordinance of the regent was known at Madrid, it caused great dissatisfaction. The king pronounced it "indecorous, illegal, and altogether repugnant to the true spirit of Christianity;"[24] and he ordered Margaret forthwith to revoke the edict. It was accordingly repealed on the twenty-third of July following. The reader who may be disposed to join heartily in the malediction may not be prepared to learn that the cause of the royal indignation was not that the edict was too severe, but that it was too lenient! It nowhere denounced the right of private worship.* A man might still be a heretic at heart and at his own fireside, so long as he did not obtrude it on the public. This did not suit the Inquisition, whose jealous eye penetrated into the houses and the hearts of men, dragging forth their secret thoughts into open day and punishing these like overt acts. Margaret had something yet to learn in the school of persecution.[25]

[23] Gachard has transferred to his notes the whole of this sanguinary document. See Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. pp. 550, 551.

[24] "La peine et le mécontentement qu'il a éprouvés, de ce que l'on a fait une chose si illicite, si indécente, et si contraire à la religion chrétienne." Ibid., ubi supra.

[25] Viglius was not too enlightened to enter his protest against the right to freedom of conscience, which, in a letter to his friend Hopper, he says may lead every one to set up his own gods—"lares aut lemures"—according to his fancy. Yet the president was wise enough to see that sufficient had been done at present in breaking up the preachings. "Time and Philip's presence must do the rest." (Epistolæ ad Hopperum, p. 433.) "Those," he says in another letter, "who have set the king against the edict have greatly deceived him. They are having their ovation before they have gained the victory. They think they can dispose of Flemish affairs as they like at Toledo, when hardly a Spaniard dares to show his head in Brussels." Ibid., p. 428.

* [Private worship was permitted in Germany.—M.]

While at Antwerp the regent received an embassy from the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and other Protestant princes of Germany, interceding for the oppressed Lutherans and praying that she would not consent to their being so grievously vexed by the Catholic government. Margaret, who was as little pleased at the plain terms in which this remonstrance was conveyed as with the object of it, coldly replied that the late conduct of the Flemish Protestants doubtless entitled them to all this sympathy from the German princes, but she advised the latter to busy themselves with their own affairs, and leave the king of Spain to manage his as he thought best.[26]

Of all the provinces, Holland was the only one which still made resistance to the will of the regent. And here, as we have already seen, was gathered a military array of some strength. The head-quarters were at Brederode's town of Viana. But that chief had left his followers for the present, and had been secretly introduced into Amsterdam, where, as before noticed, he was busy in rousing a spirit of resistance in the citizens, already well prepared for it by their Protestant preachers. The magistrates, sorely annoyed, would gladly have rid themselves of Brederode's presence, but he had too strong a hold on the people. Yet, as hour after hour brought fresh tidings of the disasters of his party, the chief himself became aware that all hopes of successful resistance must be deferred to

[26] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. pp. 80–93.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 329.

another day. Quitting the city by night, he contrived, with the aid of his friends, to make his escape into Germany. Some months he passed in Westphalia, occupied with raising forces for a meditated invasion of the Netherlands, when, in the summer of 1568, he was carried off by a fever, brought on, it is said, by his careless, intemperate way of life.[27]

Brederode was a person of a free and fearless temper,—with the defects, and the merits too, that attach to that sort of character. The friendship with which he seems to have been regarded by some of the most estimable persons of his party—Louis of Nassau, especially—speaks well for his heart. The reckless audacity of the man is shown in his correspondence; and the free manner in which he deals with persons and events makes his letters no less interesting than important for the light they throw on these troubled times. Yet it cannot be denied that, after all, Brederode is indebted much more to the circumstances of his situation than to his own character for the space he occupies in the pages of history.[28]

Thus left without a leader, the little army which Brederode had gathered under his banner soon fell to pieces. Detachments, scattering over the country, committed various depredations, plundering

[27] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 332.

[28] Groen's inestimable collection contains several of Brederode's letters, which may remind one in their tone of the dashing cavalier of the time of Charles the First. They come from the heart, mingling the spirit of daring enterprise with the careless gayety of the *bon vivant*, and throw far more light than the stiff, statesmanlike correspondence of the period on the character, not merely of the writer, but of the disjointed times in which he lived.

the religious houses, and engaging in encounters with the royal troops under Megen and Aremberg, in which the insurgents fared the worst. Thus broken on all sides, those who did not fall into the enemy's hands, or on the field, were too glad to make their escape into Germany. One vessel, containing a great number of fugitives, was wrecked, and all on board were made prisoners. Among them were two brothers of the name of Battenberg; they were of a noble family, and prominent members of the league. They were at once, with their principal followers, thrown into prison, to await their doom from the bloody tribunal of Alva.

Deprived of all support from without, the city of Amsterdam offered no further resistance, but threw open its gates to the regent and consented to accept her terms. These were the same that had been imposed on all the other refractory towns. The immunities of the city were declared to be forfeited, a garrison was marched into the place, and preparations were made for building a fortress, to guard against future commotions. Those who chose—with the customary exceptions—were allowed to leave the city. Great numbers availed themselves of the permission. The neighboring dikes were crowded with fugitives from the territory round, as well as from the city, anxiously waiting for vessels to transport them to Embden, the chief asylum of the exiles. There they stood, men, women, and children, a melancholy throng, without food, almost without raiment or any of the common necessaries of life, exciting

the commiseration of even their Catholic adversaries.[29]

The example of Amsterdam was speedily followed by Delft, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Leyden, and the remaining towns of Holland, which now seemed to vie with one another in demonstrations of loyalty to the government. The triumph of the regent was complete. Her arms had been everywhere successful, and her authority was fully recognized throughout the whole extent of the Netherlands. Doubtful friends and open foes, Catholics and Reformers, were alike prostrate at her feet.[30] With the hour of triumph came also the hour of vengeance. And we can hardly doubt that the remembrance of past humiliation gave a sharper edge to the sword of justice. Fortresses, to overawe the inhabitants, were raised in the principal towns;[31] and the expense of their construction, as well as of maintaining their garrisons, was defrayed by fines laid on the refractory cities.[32]

[29] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 255.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 50.—Vander Haer, De Initiis Tumultuum, p. 327.—Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 533.

[30] Margaret's success draws forth an animated tribute from the president of Mechlin: "De manera que los negocios de los payses bajos por la gracia de Dios y la prudencia de esta virtuosa Dama y Princesa con la asistencia de los buenos consejeros y servidores del Rey en buenos terminos y en efecto remediados, las villas reveldes y alteradas amazadas, los gueuses reducidos ó huidos; los ministros y predicantes echados fuera ó presos; y la autoridad de su Magestad establecida otra vez." Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.

[31] This was fulfilling the prophecy of the prince of Orange, who in his letter to Hoorne tells him, "In a short time we shall refuse neither bridle nor saddle. For myself," he adds, "I have not the strength to endure either." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 72.

[32] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 333.

The regent's troops rode over the country, and wherever the reformed were gathered to hear the word they were charged by the troopers, who trampled them under their horses' hoofs, shooting them down without mercy, or dragging them off by scores to execution. No town was so small that fifty at least did not perish in this way, while the number of the victims sometimes rose to two or even three hundred.[33] Everywhere along the roadside the traveller beheld the ghastly spectacle of bodies swinging from gibbets, or met with troops of miserable exiles flying from their native land.[34] Confiscation followed, as usual, in the train of persecution. At Tournay, the property of a hundred of the richest merchants was seized and appropriated by the government. Even the populace, like those animals who fall upon and devour one of their own number when wounded, now joined in the cry against the Reformers. They worked with the same alacrity as the soldiers in pulling down the Protestant churches, and from the beams, in some instances, formed the very gallows from which their unhappy victims were suspended.[35] Such is the picture, well charged with horrors, left to us by Protestant writers. We may be quite sure that it lost nothing of its darker coloring under their hands.

[33] See Meteren (Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 49), who must have drawn somewhat on his fancy for these wholesale executions, which, if taken literally, would have gone nigh to depopulate the Netherlands.

[34] "Thus the gallowses were filled with carcasses, and Germany with exiles." Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 257.

[35] "Ex trabibus decidentium templorum, infelicia conformarent patibula, ex quibus ipsi templorum fabri cultoresque pendêrent." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 333.

So strong was now the tide of emigration that it threatened to depopulate some of the fairest provinces of the country. The regent, who at first rejoiced in this as the best means of ridding the land of its enemies, became alarmed, as she saw it was drawing off so large a portion of the industrious population. They fled to France, to Germany, and very many to England, where the wise Elizabeth provided them with homes, knowing well that, though poor, they brought with them a skill in the mechanic arts which would do more than gold and silver for the prosperity of her kingdom.*

Margaret would have stayed this tide of emigration by promises of grace, if not by a general amnesty for the past. But, though she had power to punish, Philip had not given her the power to pardon. And indeed promises of grace would have availed little with men flying from the dread presence of Alva.[36] It was the fear of him which gave wings to their flight, as Margaret herself plainly intimated in a letter to the duke, in which she deprecated his coming with an army, when nothing more was needed than a vigilant police.[37]

In truth, Margaret was greatly disgusted by the intended mission of the duke of Alva, of which she had been advised by the king some months before.

[36] "Le bruit de l'arrivée prochaine du duc, à la tête d'une armée, fait fuir de toutes parts des gens, qui se retirent en France, en Angleterre, au pays de Clêves, en Allemagne et ailleurs." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 546.

[37] Ibid., ubi supra.

* [The ruin of the Netherlands was the making of England—the downfall of Antwerp gave to London its commercial supremacy.—M.]

She knew well the imperious temper of the man, and that, however high-sounding might be her own titles, the power would be lodged in his hands. She felt this to be a poor requital for her past services,—a personal indignity, no less than an injury to the state. She gave free vent to her feelings on the subject in more than one letter to her brother.

In a letter of the fifth of April she says, "You have shown no regard for my wishes or my reputation. By your extraordinary restrictions on my authority, you have prevented my settling the affairs of the country entirely to my mind. Yet, seeing things in so good a state, you are willing to give all the credit to another, and leave me only the fatigue and danger.[38] But I am resolved, instead of wasting the remainder of my days, as I have already done my health, in this way, to retire and dedicate myself to a tranquil life in the service of God." In another letter, dated four weeks later, on the third of May, after complaining that the king withdraws his confidence more and more from her, she asks leave to withdraw, as the country is restored to order, and the royal authority more assured than in the time of Charles the Fifth.[39]

In this assurance respecting the public tranquillity, Margaret was no doubt sincere; as are also

[38] "Par les restrictions extraordinaires que V. M. a mises à mon autorité, elle m'a enlevé tout pouvoir, et m'a privé des moyens d'achever l'entier rétablissement des affaires de ce pays: à présent qu'elle voit ces affaires en un bon état, elle en veut donner l'honneur à d'autres, tandis que, moi seule, j'ai eu les fatigues et les dangers." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 523.

[39] "Où l'autorité du Roi est plus assurée qu'elle ne l'était au temps de l'Empereur." Ibid., p. 532.

the historians who have continued to take the same view of the matter, down to the present time, and who consider the troubles of the country to have been so far composed by the regent that but for the coming of Alva there would have been no revolution in the Netherlands. Indeed, there might have seemed to be good ground for such a conclusion. The revolt had been crushed. Resistance had everywhere ceased. The authority of the regent was recognized throughout the land. The league, which had raised so bold a front against the government, had crumbled away. Its members had fallen in battle, or lay waiting their sentence in dungeons, or were wandering as miserable exiles in distant lands. The name *Gueux*, and the insignia of the bowl and the beggar's scrip, which they had assumed in derision, were now theirs by right. It was too true for a jest.

The party of reform had disappeared, as if by magic. Its worship was everywhere proscribed. On its ruins the Catholic religion had risen in greater splendor than ever. Its temples were restored, its services celebrated with more than customary pomp. The more austere and uncompromising of the Reformers had fled the country. Those who remained purchased immunity by a compulsory attendance on mass; or the wealthier sort, by the aid of good cheer or more substantial largesses, bribed the priest to silence.[40] At no time since the beginning of the Reformation had the clergy been treated with greater deference, or enjoyed a greater share of authority in the land.

[40] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, tom. i. p. 258.

The dark hour of revolution seemed, indeed, to have passed away.

Yet a Fleming of that day might well doubt whether the prince of Orange were a man likely to resign his fair heritage and the land so dear to his heart without striking one blow in their defence. One who knew the wide spread of the principles of reform, and the sturdy character of the reformer, might distrust the permanence of a quiet which had been brought about by so much violence. He might rather think that, beneath the soil he was treading, the elements were still at work which, at no distant time perhaps, would burst forth with redoubled violence and spread ruin over the land.

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

ALVA SENT TO THE NETHERLANDS

Alva's Appointment—His remarkable March—He arrives at Brussels—Margaret disgusted—Policy of the Duke—Arrest of Egmont and Hoorne

1567

WHILE Margaret was thus successful in bringing the country to a state of at least temporary tranquillity, measures were taken at the court of Madrid for shifting the government of the Netherlands into other hands, and for materially changing its policy.

We have seen how actively the rumors had been circulated, throughout the last year, of Philip's intended visit to the country. These rumors had received abundant warrant from his own letters, addressed to the regent and to his ministers, at the different European courts. Nor did the king confine himself to professions. He applied to the French government to allow a free passage for his army through its territories. He caused a survey to be made of that part of Savoy through which his troops would probably march, and a map of the proposed route to be prepared. He ordered fresh levies from Germany to meet him on the Flemish frontier. And, finally, he talked of calling the cortes together, to provide for the regency during his absence.

Yet, whoever else might be imposed on, there was one potentate in Europe whose clear vision was not to be blinded by the professions of Philip, nor by all this bustle of preparation. This was the old pontiff, Pius the Fifth, who had always distrusted the king's sincerity. Pius had beheld with keen anguish the spread of heresy in the Low Countries. Like a true son of the Inquisition as he was, he would gladly have seen its fires kindled in every city of this apostate land. He had observed with vexation the apathy manifested by Philip. And he at length resolved to despatch a special embassy to Spain, to stimulate the monarch, if possible, to more decided action.

The person employed was the bishop of Ascoli, and the good father delivered his rebuke in such blunt terms as caused a sensation at the court of Madrid. In a letter to his ambassador at Rome, Philip complained that the pope should have thus held him up to Christendom as one slack in the performance of his duty. The envoy had delivered himself in so strange a manner, Philip added, that, but for the respect and love he bore his holiness, he might have been led to take precisely the opposite course to the one he intended.[1]

[1] "Ledit évêque, dans la première audience qu'il lui a donnée, a usé d'ailleures de termes si étranges, qu'il l'a mis en colère, et que, s'il eût eu moins d'amour et de respect pour S. S., cela eût pu le faire revenir sur les résolutions qu'il a prises." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 488.—The tart remonstrance of Philip had its effect. Granvelle soon after wrote to the king that his holiness was greatly disturbed by the manner in which his majesty had taken his rebuke. The pope, Granvelle added, was a person of the best intentions, but with very little knowledge of the world, and easily kept in check by those who show their teeth to him: "*reprimise quando se le muestran los dientes.*" Ibid., tom. i. p. lviii.

THE DUKE OF ALVA

Yet, whoever else might be imposed on, there was one potentate in Europe whose clear vision was not to be blinded by the professions of Philip, nor by all this bustle of preparation. This was the old pontiff, Pius the Fifth, who had always distrusted the king's sincerity. Pius had beheld with keen anguish the spread of heresy in the Low Countries. Like a true son of the Inquisition as he was, he would gladly have seen its fires kindled in every city of this apostate land. He had observed with vexation the apathy manifested by Philip. And he at length resolved to despatch a special embassy to Spain, to stimulate the monarch, if possible, to more decided action.

The person employed was the bishop of Ascoli, and the good father delivered his rebuke in such blunt terms as caused a sensation at the court of Madrid. In a letter to his ambassador at Rome, Philip complained that the pope should have thus held him up to Christendom as one slack in the performance of his duty. The envoy had delivered himself in so strange a manner, Philip added, that, but for the respect and love he bore his holiness, he might have been led to take precisely the opposite course to the one he intended.[1]

[1] "Ledit évêque, dans la première audience qu'il lui a donnée, a usé d'ailleures de termes si étranges, qu'il l'a mis en colère, et que, s'il eût eu moins d'amour et de respect pour S. S., cela eût pu le faire revenir sur les résolutions qu'il a prises." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 488. The remonstrance of Philip had its effect. Granvelle soon after wrote to the king that his holiness was greatly disturbed by the manner in which his majesty had taken his rebuke. The pope, Granvelle added, was a person of the best intentions, but with very little knowledge of the world, and easily kept in check by those who show their teeth to him: "*reprimise quando se le muestran los dientes.*" Ibid., tom. i. p. lviii.

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Yet, notwithstanding this show of indignation, had it not been for the outbreak of the iconoclasts, it is not improbable that the king might still have continued to procrastinate, relying on his favorite maxim, that "Time and himself were a match for any other two." [2] But the event which caused such a sensation throughout Christendom roused every feeling of indignation in the royal bosom,—and this from the insult offered to the crown as well as to the Church. Contrary to his wont, the king expressed himself with so much warmth on the subject, and so openly, that the most sceptical began at last to believe that the long-talked-of visit was at hand. The only doubt was as to the manner in which it should be made,—whether the king should march at the head of an army, or attended only by so much of a retinue as was demanded by his royal state.

The question was warmly discussed in the council. Ruy Gomez, the courtly favorite of Philip, was for the latter alternative. A civil war he

[2] "Que lui et le temps en valaient deux autres." Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 199.—The hesitation of the king drew on him a sharp rebuke from the audacious Fray Lorenzo Villavicencio, who showed as little ceremony in dealing with Philip as with his ministers. "If your majesty," he says, "consulting only your own ease, refuses to make this visit to Flanders, which so nearly concerns the honor of God, his blessed Mother, and all the saints, as well as the weal of Christendom, what is it but to declare that you are ready to accept the regal dignity which God has given you, and yet leave to him all the care and trouble that belong to that dignity? God would take this as ill of your majesty, as you would take it of those of your vassals whom you had raised to offices of trust and honor, and who took the offices, but left you to do the work for them! To offend God is a rash act, that must destroy both soul and body." Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Rapport, p. xlviii.

deprecated, as bringing ruin even to the victor.[3] Clemency was the best attribute of a sovereign, and the people of Flanders were a generous race, more likely to be overcome by kindness than by arms.[4] In these liberal and humane views the prince of Eboli was supported by the politic secretary, Antonio Perez, and by the duke of Feria, formerly ambassador to London, a man who to polished manners united a most insinuating eloquence.

But very different opinions, as might be expected, were advanced by the duke of Alva. The system of indulgence, he said, had been that followed by the regent, and its fruits were visible. The weeds of heresy were not to be extirpated by a gentle hand; and his majesty should deal with his rebellious vassals as Charles the Fifth had dealt with their rebel fathers at Ghent.[5] These stern views received support from the Cardinal Espinosa, who held the office of president of the council as well as of grand inquisitor, and who doubtless thought the insult offered to the Inquisition not the least of the offences to be charged on the Reformers.

Each of the great leaders recommended the measures most congenial with his own character, and which had they been adopted would probably have required his own services to carry them into

[3] "Ne extingui quidem posse sine ruinâ victoris." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 338.—Better expressed by the old Castilian proverb, "El vencido vencido, y el vencidor perdido."

[4] "At illos non armis sed beneficiis expugnari." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 339.

[5] Ibid., p. 340.

execution. Had the pacific course been taken, Feria, or more probably Ruy Gomez, would have been intrusted with the direction of affairs. Indeed, Montigny and Bergen, still detained in reluctant captivity at Madrid, strongly urged the king to send the prince of Eboli, as a man who, by his popular manners and known discretion, would be most likely to reconcile opposite factions.[6] Were violent measures, on the other hand, to be adopted, to whom could they be so well intrusted as to the duke himself, the most experienced captain of his time?

The king, it is said, contrary to his custom, was present at the meeting of the council and listened to the debate. He did not intimate his opinion. But it might be conjectured to which side he was most likely to lean, from his habitual preference for coercive measures.[7]

Philip came to a decision sooner than usual. In a few days he summoned the duke, and told him that he had resolved to send him forthwith, at the head of an army, to the Netherlands. It was only, however, to prepare the way for his own coming, which would take place as soon as the

[6] "Ouy, et que plus est, oserions presques asseurer Vostre Majesté plusieurs des mauvais et des principaulx, voiant ledit prince de Heboli, se viendront réconcilier à luy, et le supplier avoir, par son moien, faveur vers Vostre Majesté." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 519.

[7] The debate is reported with sufficient minuteness both by Cabrera (Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. vii.) and Strada (De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 338). They agree, however, neither in the names of the parties present, nor in the speeches they made. Yet their disagreement in these particulars is by no means so surprising as their agreement in the most improbable part of their account,—Philip's presence at the debate.

country was in a state sufficiently settled to receive him.

All was now alive with the business of preparation in Castile. Levies were raised throughout the country. Such was the zeal displayed that even the Inquisition and the clergy advanced a considerable sum towards defraying the expenses of an expedition which they seemed to regard in the light of a crusade.[8] Magazines of provisions were ordered to be established at regular stations on the proposed line of march. Orders were sent that the old Spanish garrisons in Lombardy, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia should be transported to the place of rendezvous in Piedmont, to await the coming of the duke, who would supply their places with the fresh recruits brought with him from Castile.

Philip meanwhile constantly proclaimed that Alva's departure was only the herald of his own. He wrote this to Margaret, assuring her of his purpose to go by water, and directing her to have a squadron of eight vessels in readiness to convoy him to Zealand, where he proposed to land. The vessels were accordingly equipped. Processions were made, and prayers put up in all the churches, for the prosperous passage of the king. Yet there were some in the Netherlands who remarked that prayers to avert the dangers of the sea were hardly needed by the monarch in his palace at Madrid![9] Many of those about the royal person soon in-

[8] "Comme si c'eust esté une saincte guerre." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 52.

[9] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 350.

dulged in the same scepticism in regard to the king's sincerity, as week after week passed away and no arrangements were made for his departure. Among the contradictory rumors at court in respect to the king's intention, the pope's nuncio wrote, it was impossible to get at the truth.[10] It was easy to comprehend the general policy of Philip, but impossible to divine the particular plans by which it was to be carried out. If such was the veil which hid the monarch's purposes even from the eyes of those who had nearest access to his person, how can we hope at this distance of time to penetrate it? Yet the historian of the nineteenth century is admitted to the perusal of many an authentic document revealing the royal purpose, which never came under the eye of the courier of Madrid. With all the light thus afforded, it is still difficult to say whether Philip ever was sincere in his professions of visiting the Netherlands. If he were so at any time, it certainly was not after he had decided on the mission of Alva. Philip widely differed from his father in a sluggishness of body which made any undertaking that required physical effort exceedingly irksome. He shrank from no amount of sedentary labor, would toil from morning till midnight in his closet, like the humblest of his secretaries. But a journey was a great undertaking. After his visits, during his father's lifetime, to England and the Low Countries, he rarely travelled farther,

[10] "Il répète," says Gachard, "dans une dépêche du 1er septembre, qu'au milieu des bruits contradictoires qui circulent à la cour, il est impossible de démêler la vérité." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i., Rapport, p. clvi.

as his graceless son satirically hinted, than from Madrid to Aranjuez, or Madrid to the Escorial. A thing so formidable as an expedition to Flanders, involving a tedious journey through an unfriendly land, or a voyage through seas not less unfriendly, was what, under ordinary circumstances, the king would have never dreamed of.

The present aspect of affairs, moreover, had nothing in it particularly inviting,—especially to a prince of Philip's temper. Never was there a prince more jealous of his authority; and the indignities to which he might have been exposed, in the disorderly condition of the country, might well have come to the aid of his constitutional sluggishness to deter him from the visit.

Under these circumstances, it is not strange that Philip, if he had ever entertained a vague project of a journey to the Netherlands, should have yielded to his natural habit of procrastination. The difficulties of a winter's voyage, the necessity of summoning cortes and settling the affairs of the kingdom, his own protracted illness, furnished so many apologies for postponing the irksome visit until the time had passed when such a visit could be effectual.

That he should so strenuously have asserted his purpose of going to the Netherlands may be explained by a desire in some sort to save his credit with those who seemed to think that the present exigency demanded he should go. He may have also thought it politic to keep up the idea of a visit to the Low Countries, in order to curb—as it no doubt had the effect in some degree of curbing—

the license of the people, who believed they were soon to be called to a reckoning for their misdeeds by the prince in person. After all, the conduct of Philip on this occasion, and the motives assigned for his delay in his letters to Margaret, must be allowed to afford a curious coincidence with those ascribed, in circumstances not dissimilar, by the Roman historian to Tiberius.[11]

On the fifteenth of April, 1567, Alva had his last audience of Philip at Aranjuez. He immediately after departed for Carthagena, where a fleet of thirty-six vessels, under the Genoese Admiral Doria, lay riding at anchor to receive him. He was detained some time for the arrival of the troops, and while there he received despatches from the court containing his commission of captain-general and particular instructions as to the course he was to pursue in the Netherlands. They were so particular that, notwithstanding the broad extent of his powers, the duke wrote to his master complaining of his want of confidence and declaring that he had never been hampered by instructions so minute, even under the emperor.[12] One who has studied the character of Philip will find no difficulty in believing it.

On the twenty-seventh of April the fleet weighed anchor; but, in consequence of a detention of some days at several places on the Catalan

[11] "Ceterum, ut jam jamque iturus, legit comites, conquisivit impedimenta, adornavit naves: mox hiemen aut negotia varie causatus primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime provincias fefellit." Taciti Annales, I. xlvii.

[12] "Es la primera que se me da en mi vida de cosas desta calidad en cuantas veces re servido, ni de su Magestad Cesárea que Dios tenga, ni de V. M." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 354.

coast, it did not reach the Genoese port of Savona till the seventeenth of the next month. The duke had been ill when he went on board, and his gouty constitution received no benefit from the voyage. Yet he did not decline the hospitalities offered by the Genoese nobles, who vied with the senate in showing the Spanish commander every testimony of respect. At Asti he was waited on by Albuquerque, the Milanese viceroy, and by ambassadors from different Italian provinces, eager to pay homage to the military representative of the Spanish monarch. But the gout under which Alva labored was now aggravated by an attack of tertian ague, and for a week or more he was confined to his bed.

Meanwhile the troops had assembled at the appointed rendezvous, and the duke, as soon as he had got the better of his disorder, made haste to review them. They amounted in all to about ten thousand men, of whom less than thirteen hundred were cavalry. But, though small in amount, it was a picked body of troops, such as was hardly to be matched in Europe. The infantry, in particular, were mostly Spaniards,—veterans who had been accustomed to victory under the banner of Charles the Fifth, and many of them trained to war under the eye of Alva himself. He preferred such a body, compact and well disciplined as it was, to one which, unwieldy from its size, would have been less fitted for a rapid march across the mountains.[13]

[13] A magnanimous Castilian historian pronounces a swelling panegyric on this little army in a couple of lines: "Los Soldados podian

Besides those of the common file, there were many gentlemen and cavaliers of note, who, weary of repose, came as volunteers to gather fresh laurels under so renowned a chief as the duke of Alva. Among these was Vitelli, marquis of Cetona, a Florentine soldier of high repute in his profession, but who, though now embarked in what might be called a war of religion, was held so indifferent to religion of any kind that a whimsical epitaph on the sceptic denies him the possession of a soul.[14] Another of these volunteers was Mondragone, a veteran of Charles the Fifth, whose character for chivalrous exploit was unstained by those deeds of cruelty and rapine which were so often the reproach of the cavalier of the sixteenth century. The duties of the commissariat, particularly difficult in a campaign like the present, were intrusted to an experienced Spanish officer named Ibarra. To the duke of Savoy Alva was indebted for an eminent engineer named Paciotti, whose services proved of great importance in the construction of fortresses in the Netherlands. Alva had also brought with him his two sons, Frederick and Ferdinand de Toledo,—the latter an illegitimate child,

ser Capitanes, los Capitanes Maestros de Campo, y los Maestros de Campo Generales." Hechos de Sancho Davila (Valladolid, 1713), p. 26.—The chivalrous Brantôme dwells with delight on the gallant bearing and brilliant appointments of these troops, whom he saw in their passage through Lorraine: "Tous vieux et aguerrys soldatz, tant bien en poinct d'habillement et d'armes, la pluspart dorées, et l'autre gravées, qu'on les prenoit plustost pour capitaines que soldats." Œuvres, tom. i. p. 60.

[14] "Corpus in Italia est, tenet intestina Brabantus;
Ast animam nemo. Cur? quia non habuit."

Borgnet, Philippe II. et la Belgique, p. 60.

for whom the father showed as much affection as it was in his rugged nature to feel for any one. To Ferdinand was given the command of the cavalry, composed chiefly of Italians.[15]

Having reviewed his forces, the duke formed them into three divisions. This he did in order to provide the more easily for their subsistence on his long and toilsome journey. The divisions were to be separated from one another by a day's march; so that each would take up at night the same quarters which had been occupied by the preceding division on the night before. Alva himself led the van.[16]

He dispensed with artillery, not willing to embarrass his movements in his passage across the mountains. But he employed what was then a novelty in war. Each company of foot was flanked by a body of soldiers carrying heavy muskets with rests attached to them. This sort of

[15] No two writers, of course, agree in the amount of Alva's forces. The exact returns of the amount of the whole army, as well as of each company, and the name of the officer who commanded it, are to be found in the Documentos inéditos (tom. iv. p. 382). From this it appears that the precise number of horse was 1250, and that of the foot 8800, making a total of 10,050.

[16] A poem in *ottava rima*, commemorating Alva's expedition, appeared at Antwerp the year following, from the pen of one Balthazar de Vargas. It has more value in an historical point of view than in a poetical one. A single stanza, which the bard devotes to the victualing of the army, will probably satisfy the appetite of the reader:

> "Y por que la Savoya es montañosa,
> Y an de passar por ella las legiones,
> Seria la passada trabajosa
> Si á la gente faltassen provisiones.
> El real comissario no reposa.
> Haze llevar de Italia municiones
> Tantas que proveyo todo el camino
> Que jamas falto el pan, y carne, y vino."

fire-arms, from their cumbrous nature, had hitherto been used only in the defence of fortresses. But with these portable rests they were found efficient for field-service, and as such came into general use after this period.[17] Their introduction by Alva may be regarded, therefore, as an event of some importance in the history of military art.

The route that Alva proposed to take was that over Mount Cenis, the same, according to tradition, by which Hannibal crossed the great barrier some eighteen centuries before.[18] If less formidable than in the days of the Carthaginian, it was far from being the practicable route so easily traversed, whether by trooper or tourist, at the present day. Steep rocky heights, shaggy with forests, where the snows of winter still lingered in the midst of June; fathomless ravines, choked up with the *débris* washed down by the mountain-torrent; paths scarcely worn by the hunter and his game, affording a precarious footing on the edge of giddy precipices; long and intricate defiles, where a handful of men might hold an army at bay and from the surrounding heights roll down ruin on

[17] Ossorio, Albæ Vita, tom. ii. p. 237.—Trillo, Rebelion y Guerras de Flandes (Madrid, 1592), fol. 17.—Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 490.

[18] So say Schiller (Abfall der Niederlande, S. 363), Cabrera (Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 15), *et auct. al.* But every schoolboy knows that nothing is more unsettled than the route taken by Hannibal across the Alps. The two oldest authorities, Livy and Polybius, differ on the point, and it has remained a vexed question ever since, —the criticism of later years, indeed, leaning to still another route, that across the Little St. Bernard. The passage of Hannibal forms the subject of a curious discussion introduced into Gibbon's journal, when the young historian was in training for the mighty task of riper years. His reluctance, even at the close of his argument, to strike the balance, is singularly characteristic of his sceptical mind.

their heads;—these were the obstacles which Alva and his followers had to encounter, as they threaded their toilsome way through a country where the natives bore no friendly disposition to the Spaniards.

Their route lay at no great distance from Geneva, that stronghold of the Reformers; and Pius the Fifth would have persuaded the duke to turn from his course and exterminate this "nest of devils and apostates," [19]—as the Christian father was pleased to term them. The people of Geneva, greatly alarmed at the prospect of an invasion, applied to their Huguenot brethren for aid. The prince of Condé and the Admiral Coligni—the leaders of that party—offered their services to the French monarch to raise fifty thousand men, fall upon his old enemies the Spaniards, and cut them off in the passes of the mountains. But Charles the Ninth readily understood the drift of this proposal. Though he bore little love to the Spaniards, he bore still less to the Reformers. He therefore declined this offer of the Huguenot chiefs, adding that he was able to protect France without their assistance.[20] The Genevans were accordingly obliged to stand to their own defence, though they gathered confidence from the promised support of their countrymen of Berne; and the whole array

[19] "A suidar da quel nido di Demoni, le sceleraggini di tanti Apostati." Leti, Vita di Filippo II., tom. i. p. 487.

[20] The Huguenots even went so far as to attempt to engage the Reformed in the Low Countries to join them in assaulting the duke in his march through Savoy. Their views were expressed in a work which circulated widely in the provinces, though it failed to rouse the people to throw off the Spanish yoke. See Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 194.

of these brave mountaineers was in arms, ready to repel any assault of the Spaniards on their own territory or on that of their allies, in their passage through the country.* But this was unnecessary. Though Alva passed within six leagues of Geneva, and the request of the pontiff was warmly seconded by the duke of Savoy, the Spanish general did not deem it prudent to comply with it, declaring that his commission extended no further than to the Netherlands. Without turning to the right or to the left, he held on, therefore, straight towards the mark, anxious only to extricate himself as speedily as possible from the perilous passes where he might be taken at so obvious disadvantage by an enemy.

Yet such were the difficulties he had to encounter that a fortnight elapsed before he was able to set foot on the friendly plains of Burgundy,—that part of the ancient duchy which acknowledged the authority of Spain.† Here he received the welcome addition to his ranks of four hundred horse, the flower of the Burgundian chivalry. On his way across the country he was accompanied by

* [Geneva was not then a member of the Swiss Confederacy, as the language in the text would imply, and, though Berne offered to send a thousand men for its protection, a French garrison was accepted in preference. The other cantons refused to raise any troops, their jealousy of Berne being such at this period that they would have been very willing, according to the native historians, to see its power, which had been extended by conquest, crippled by a foreign enemy. Meanwhile, the envoys of Spain and Savoy gave assurances to the Council of Berne that no hostilities were intended by Alva, and that the strictest discipline would be maintained on the march, the Conde de Anguisola offering to remain as a hostage till the danger was past. Tillier, Geschichte des Friestaates Bern, B. iii. S. 423–425.—K.]

† [The *county* of Burgundy is meant: no part of the *duchy* was subject to Philip.—K.]

a French army of observation, some six thousand strong, which moved in a parallel direction, at the distance of six or seven leagues only from the line of march pursued by the Spaniards,—though without offering them any molestation.

Soon after entering Lorraine, Alva was met by the duke of that province, who seemed desirous to show him every respect, and entertained him with princely hospitality. After a brief detention, the Spanish general resumed his journey, and on the eighth of August crossed the frontiers of the Netherlands.[21]

His long and toilsome march had been accomplished without an untoward accident, and with scarcely a disorderly act on the part of the soldiers. No man's property had been plundered. No peasant's hut had been violated. The cattle had been allowed to graze unmolested in the fields, and the flocks to wander in safety over their mountain-pastures. One instance only to the contrary is mentioned,—that of three troopers who carried off one or two straggling sheep as the army was passing through Lorraine. But they were soon called to a heavy reckoning for their transgression. Alva, on being informed of the fact, sentenced

[21] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. pp. 350–354.—Ossorio, Albæ Vita, tom. ii. p. 232, et seq.—Hechos de Sancho Davila, p. 26.—Trillo, Rebelion y Guerras de Flandes, fol. 16, 17.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 15.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 52.—Lanario, Guerras de Flandes, fol. 15.—Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS.—Chronological accuracy was a thing altogether beneath the attention of a chronicler of the sixteenth century. In the confusion of dates in regard to Alva's movements, I have been guided as far as possible by his own despatches. See Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 349, et seq.

them all to the gallows. At the intercession of the duke of Lorraine, the sentence was so far mitigated by the Spanish commander that one only of the three, selected by lot, was finally executed.[22]

The admirable discipline maintained among Alva's soldiers was the more conspicuous in an age when the name of soldier was synonymous with that of marauder. It mattered little whether it were a friendly country or that of a foe through which lay the line of march. The defenceless peasant was everywhere the prey of the warrior; and the general winked at the outrages of his followers as the best means of settling their arrears.

What made the subordination of the troops in the present instance still more worthy of notice was the great number of camp-followers, especially courtesans, who hung on the skirts of the army. These latter mustered in such force that they were divided into battalions and companies, marching each under its own banner, and subjected to a sort of military organization, like the men.[23] The duke seems to have been as careless of the morals of his soldiers as he was careful of their discipline; perhaps willing by his laxity in the one to compensate for his severity in the other.*

[22] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 354.—Ossorio, Albæ Vita, tom. i. p. 241.

[23] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 52.—Old Brantôme warms as he contemplates these Amazons, as beautiful and making as brave a show as princesses! "Plus il y avoit quatre cents courtisanes à cheval, belles et braves comme princesses, et huict cents à pied, bien en point aussi." Œuvres, tom. i. p. 62.

* [A care for the morals of his soldiers was not a characteristic of any general until the days of Gustavus Adolphus in the "Thirty Years' War."—M.]

It was of the last importance to Alva that his soldiers should commit no trespass, nor entangle him in a quarrel with the dangerous people through the midst of whom he was to pass, and who, from their superior knowledge of the country, as well as their numbers, could so easily overpower him. Fortunately, he had received such intimations before his departure as put him on his guard. The result was that he obtained such a mastery over his followers, and enforced so perfect a discipline, as excited the general admiration of his contemporaries, and made his march to the Low Countries one of the most memorable events of the period.[24]

At Thionville the duke was waited on by Barlaimont and Noircarmes, who came to offer the salutations of the regent and at the same time to request to see his powers. At the same place, and on the way to the capital, the duke was met by several of the Flemish nobility, who came to pay their respects to him,—among the rest, Egmont, attended by forty of his retainers. On his entering Alva's presence, the duke exclaimed to one of his officers, "Here comes a great heretic!" The words were overheard by Egmont, who hesitated a moment, naturally disconcerted by what would have served as an effectual warning to any other man. But Alva made haste to efface the impres-

[24] "Ninguna Historia nos enseña haya passado un Exercito por Pais tan dilatado y marchas tan continuas, sin cometer excesso: La del Duque es la unica que nos la hace ver. Encantò à todo el mundo." Rustant, Historia del Duque de Alva, tom. ii. p. 124.—So also Herrera, Historia general, tom. i. p. 650.—Cabrera, Filipe Segundo, lib. vii. cap. 15.—Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 354.

sion caused by his heedless exclamation, receiving Egmont with so much cordiality as reassured the infatuated nobleman, who, regarding the words as a jest, before his departure presented the duke with two beautiful horses. Such is the rather singular story which comes down to us on what must be admitted to be respectable authority.[25]

Soon after he had entered the country, the duke detached the greater part of his forces to garrison some of the principal cities and relieve the Walloon troops on duty there, less to be trusted than his Spanish veterans. With the Milanese brigade he took the road to Brussels, which he entered on the twenty-second of August. His cavalry he established at ten leagues' distance from the capital, and the infantry he lodged in the suburbs. Far from being greeted by acclamations, no one came out to welcome him as he entered the city, which seemed like a place deserted. He went straight to the palace, to offer his homage to the regent. An altercation took place on the threshold between his halberdiers and Margaret's body-guard of archers, who disputed the entrance of the Spanish soldiers. The duke himself was conducted to the bedchamber of the duchess, where she was in the habit of giving audience. She was standing, with a few Flemish nobles by her side; and she remained in that position, without stirring a single step to receive her visitor. Both parties continued standing

[25] "Comme le Duc le vid de long, il dit tout haut; Voicy le grand hereticque, dequoy le Comte s'espouvanta: neantmoins, pource qu'on le pouvoit entendre en deux façons, il l'interpreta de bonne part." Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 53.

during the interview, which lasted half an hour, the duke during the greater part of the time with his hat in his hand, although Margaret requested him to be covered. The curious spectators of this conference amused themselves by contrasting the courteous and even deferential manners of the haughty Spaniard with the chilling reserve and stately demeanor of the duchess.[26] At the close of the interview Alva withdrew to his own quarters at Culemborg House,—the place, it will be remembered, where the Gueux held their memorable banquet on their visit to Brussels.

The following morning, at the request of the council of state, the duke of Alva furnished that body with a copy of his commission. By this he was invested with the title of captain-general, and in that capacity was to exercise supreme control in all military affairs.[27] By another commission, dated two months later, these powers were greatly enlarged. The country was declared in a state of rebellion; and, as milder means had failed to bring it to obedience, it was necessary to resort to arms.

[26] "Vimos los que allí estábamos que el Duque de Alba usó de grandísimos respetos y buenas crianzas, y que Madama estuvo muy severa y mas que cuando suelen negociar con ella Egmont y estos ostros Señores de acá, cosa que fué muy notada de los que lo miraban."—A minute account of this interview, as given in the text, was sent to Philip by Mendivil, an officer of the artillery, and is inserted in the Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 397, et seq.

[27] This document, dated December 1st, 1566, is not to be found in the Archives of Simancas, as we may infer from its having no place in the Documentos inéditos, which contains the succeeding commission. A copy of it is in the Belgian archives, and has been incorporated in Gachard's Correspondance de Philippe II. (tom. ii., Appendix, No. 88). It is possible that a copy of this commission was sent to Margaret, as it agrees so well with what the king had written to her on the subject.

The duke was therefore commanded to levy war on the refractory people and reduce them to submission. He was, moreover, to inquire into the causes of the recent troubles, and bring the suspected parties to trial, with full authority to punish or to pardon as he might judge best for the public weal.[28] Finally, a third commission, of more startling import than the two preceding, and which indeed might seem to supersede them altogether, was dated three months later, on the first of March, 1567. In the former instruments the duke was so far required to act in subordination to the regent that her authority was declared to be unimpaired. But by virtue of this last commission he was invested with supreme control in civil as well as military affairs; and persons of every degree, including the regent herself, were enjoined to render obedience to his commands, as to those of the king.[29] Such a commission, which placed the government of the country in the hands of Alva, was equivalent to a dismissal of Margaret. The title of "regent," which still remained to her, was an empty mockery; nor could it be thought that she

[28] To this second commission, dated January 31st, 1567, was appended a document, signed also by Philip, the purport of which seems to have been to explain more precisely the nature of the powers intrusted to the duke,—which it does in so liberal a fashion that it may be said to double those powers. Both papers, the originals of which are preserved in Simancas, have been inserted in the Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. pp. 388–396.

[29] "Par quoy requerrons à ladicte dame duchesse, nostre seur, et commandons à tous noz vassaulx et subjectz, de obéyr audict duc d'Alve en ce qu'il leur commandera, et de par nous, comme aïant telle charge, et comme à nostre propre personne."—This instrument, taken from the Belgian archives, is given entirely by Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendix, No. 102.

would be content to retain a barren sceptre in the country over which she had so long ruled.

It is curious to observe the successive steps by which Philip had raised Alva from the rank of captain-general of the army to supreme authority in the country. It would seem as if the king were too tenacious of power readily to part with it, and that it was only by successive efforts, as the conviction of the necessity of such a step pressed more and more on his mind, that he determined to lodge the government in the hands of Alva.

Whether the duke acquainted the council with the full extent of his powers, or, as seems more probable, communicated to that body only his first two commissions, it is impossible to say. At all events, the members do not appear to have prepared for the exhibition of powers so extensive, and which, even in the second of the commissions, transcended those exercised by the regent herself. A consciousness that they did so had led Philip, in more than one instance, to qualify the language of the instrument in such a manner as not to rouse the jealousy of his sister,—an artifice so obvious that it probably produced a contrary effect. At any rate, Margaret did not affect to conceal her disgust, but talked openly of the affront put on her by the king, and avowed her determination to throw up the government.[30]

She gave little attention to business, passing most of her days in hunting, of which masculine

[30] "Despues que los han visto han quedado todos muy lastimados, y á todos cuantos Madama habla les dice que se quiere ir á su casa por los agravios que V. M. le ha hecho." Carta de Mendivil, ap. Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 399.

sport she was excessively fond. She even threatened to amuse herself with journeying about from place to place, leaving public affairs to take care of themselves, till she should receive the king's permission to retire.[31] From this indulgence of her spleen she was dissuaded by her secretary, Armenteros, who, shifting his sails to suit the breeze, showed, soon after Alva's coming, his intention to propitiate the new governor. There were others of Margaret's adherents less accommodating. Some high in office intimated very plainly their discontent at the presence of the Spaniards, from which they boded only calamity to the country.[32] Margaret's confessor, in a sermon preached before the regent, did not scruple to denounce the Spaniards as so many "knaves, traitors, and ravishers."[33] And although the remonstrance of the loyal Armenteros induced the duchess to send back the honest man to his convent, it was plain, from the warm terms in which she commended the preacher, that she was far from being displeased with his discourse.

The duke of Alva cared little for the hatred of the Flemish lords.[34] But he felt otherwise towards the regent. He would willingly have soothed her

[31] Carta de Mendivil, ap. Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 403.

[32] Ibid., p. 400.

[33] "En todo el sermon no trató cuasi de otra cosa sino de que los españoles eran traidores y ladrones, y forzadores de mugeres, y que totalmente el pais que los sufria era destruido, con tanto escándolo y maldad que merescia ser quemado." Ibid., p. 401.

[34] Yet there was danger in it, if, as Armenteros warned the duke, to leave his house would be at the risk of his life: "Tambien me ha dicho Tomás de Armenteros que diga al Duque de Alba que en ninguna manera como fuera de su casa porque si lo hace será con notable peligro de la vida." Ibid., ubi supra.

irritation, and he bent his haughty spirit to show, in spite of her coldness, a deference in his manner that must have done some violence to his nature. As a mark of respect he proposed at once to pay her another visit, and in great state, as suited her rank. But Margaret, feigning or feeling herself too ill to receive him, declined his visit for some days, and at last, perhaps to mortify him the more, vouchsafed him only a private audience in her own apartment.

Yet at this interview she showed more condescension than before, and even went so far as to assure the duke that there was no one whose appointment would have been more acceptable to her.[35] She followed this by bluntly demanding why he had been sent at all. Alva replied that, as she had often intimated her desire for a more efficient military force, he had come to aid her in the execution of her measures, and to restore peace to the country before the arrival of his majesty.[36] The answer could hardly have pleased the duchess, who doubtless considered she had done that, without his aid, already.

The discourse fell upon the mode of quartering the troops. Alva proposed to introduce a Spanish garrison into Brussels. To this Margaret objected with great energy. But the duke on this

[35] "Despues de haberse sentado le dijo el contentamiento que tenia de su venida y que ningun otro pudiera venir con quien ella mas se holgara." Carta de Mendivil, ap. Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 404.

[36] "Que lo que principalmente traia era estar aquí con esta gente para que la justicia fuese obedecida y respetada, y los mandamientos de S. E. ejecutadas, y que S. M. á su venida hallase esto en la paz, tranquilidad y sosiego que era razon." Ibid., p. 406.

point was inflexible. Brussels was the royal residence, and the quiet of the city could only be secured by a garrison. "If the people murmur," he concluded, "you can tell them I am a headstrong man, bent on having my own way. I am willing to take all the odium of the measure on myself."[37] Thus thwarted, and made to feel her inferiority when any question of real power was involved, Margaret felt the humiliation of her position even more keenly than before. The appointment of Alva had been from the first, as we have seen, a source of mortification to the duchess. In December, 1566, soon after Philip had decided on sending the duke, with the authority of captain-general, to the Low Countries, he announced it in a letter to Margaret. He had been as much perplexed, he said, in the choice of a commander as she could have been; and it was only at her suggestion of the necessity of some one to take the military command that he had made such a nomination. Alva was, however, only to prepare the way for him, to assemble a force on the frontier, establish the garrisons, and enforce discipline among the troops till he came.[38] Philip was careful not to alarm his sister by any hint of the extraordinary powers to be conferred on the duke, who thus seemed to be sent only in obedience to her suggestion and in subordination to her authority.

[37] "Podráse escusar con estos diciéndoles que yo soy cabezudo y que he estado muy opinatre en sacar de aquí esta gente, que yo huelgo de que á mí se me eche la culpa y de llevar el odio sobre mí á trueque de que V. E. quede descargada." Carta de Mendivil, ap. Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 408.

[38] Supplément à Strada, tom. ii. p. 524.

Margaret knew too well that Alva was not a man to act in subordination to any one. But whatever misgivings she may have had, she hardly betrayed them in her reply to Philip, in the following February, 1567, when she told the king she "was sure he would never be so unjust, and do a thing so prejudicial to the interests of the country, as to transfer to another the powers he had vested in her." [39]

The appointment of Alva may have stimulated the regent to the extraordinary efforts she then made to reduce the country to order. When she had achieved this, she opened her mind more freely to her brother, in a letter dated July 12th, 1567. "The name of Alva was so odious in the Netherlands that it was enough to make the whole Spanish nation detested.[40] She could never have imagined that the king would make such an appointment without consulting her." She then, alluding to orders lately received from Madrid, shows extreme repugnance to carry out the stern policy of Philip,[41]—a repugnance, it must be confessed, that seems to rest less on the character of the measures than on the difficulty of their execution.

When the duchess learned that Alva was in Italy, she wrote also to him, hoping at this late hour to arrest his progress by the assurance that

[39] "Tenendo per certo che V. M. non vorrà desautorizarmi, per autorizare altri, poi che questo non e giusto, ne manco saria servitio suo, se non gran danno et inconveniente per tutti li negotii." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 505.

[40] "Il y est si odieux qu'il suffirait à y faire haïr toute la nation espagnole." Ibid., p. 556.

[41] Ibid., ubi supra.

the troubles were now at an end and that his appearance at the head of an army would only serve to renew them. But the duke was preparing for his march across the Alps, and it would have been as easy to stop the avalanche in its descent as to stay the onward course of this "man of destiny."

The state of Margaret's feelings was shown by the chilling reception she gave the duke on his arrival in Brussels. The extent of his powers, so much beyond what she had imagined, did not tend to soothe the irritation of the regent's temper; and the result of the subsequent interview filled up the measure of her indignation. However forms might be respected, it was clear the power had passed into other hands. She wrote at once to Philip, requesting, or rather requiring, his leave to withdraw without delay from the country. "If he had really felt the concern he professed for her welfare and reputation, he would have allowed her to quit the government before being brought into rivalry with a man like the duke of Alva, who took his own course in everything, without the least regard to her. It afflicted her to the bottom of her soul to have been thus treated by the king." [42]

It may have given some satisfaction to Margaret that in her feelings towards the duke she had the entire sympathy of the nation. In earlier days, in the time of Charles the Fifth, Alva had passed some time both in Germany and in the Netherlands, and had left there no favorable

[42] "Elle est affectée jusq'au fond de l'âme, de la conduite du Roi à son égard." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 567.

impression of his character. In the former country, indeed, his haughty deportment on a question of etiquette had caused some embarrassment to his master. Alva insisted on the strange privilege of the Castilian grandee to wear his hat in the presence of his sovereign. The German nobles, scandalized by this pretension in a subject, asserted that their order had as good a right to it as the Spaniards. It was not without difficulty that the proud duke was content to waive the contested privilege till his return to Spain.[43]

Another anecdote of Alva had left a still more unfavorable impression of his character. He had accompanied Charles on his memorable visit to Ghent, on occasion of its rebellion. The emperor asked the duke's counsel as to the manner in which he should deal with his refractory capital. Alva instantly answered, "Raze it to the ground!" Charles, without replying, took the duke with him to the battlements of the castle; and, as their eyes wandered over the beautiful city spread out far and wide below, the emperor asked him, with a pun on the French name of Ghent (*Gand*), how many Spanish hides it would take to make such a *glove* (*gant*). Alva, who saw his master's displeasure, received the rebuke in silence. The story, whether true or not, was current among the people of Flanders, on whom it produced its effect.[44]

Alva was now sixty years old. It was not likely that age had softened the asperity of his nature.

[43] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 207.

[44] "Seu vera seu ficta, facilè Gandavensibus credita, ab iisque in reliquum Belgium cum Albani odio propagata." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 368.

He had, as might be expected, ever shown himself the uncompromising enemy of the party of reform in the Low Countries. He had opposed the concession made to the nation by the recall of Granvelle. The only concessions he recommended to Philip were in order to lull the suspicions of the great lords till he could bring them to a bloody reckoning for their misdeeds.[45] The general drift of his policy was perfectly understood in the Netherlands, and the duchess had not exaggerated when she dwelt on the detestation in which he was held by the people.

His course on his arrival was not such as to diminish the fears of the nation. His first act was to substitute in the great towns his own troops, men who knew no law but the will of their chief, for the Walloon garrisons, who might naturally have some sympathy with their countrymen. His next was to construct fortresses, under the direction of one of the ablest engineers in Europe. The hour had come when, in the language of the prince of Orange, his countrymen were to be bridled by the Spaniard.

The conduct of Alva's soldiers underwent an ominous change. Instead of the discipline observed on the march, they now indulged in the most reckless license. "One hears everywhere," writes a Fleming of the time, "of the oppressions of the Spaniards. Confiscation is going on to the right and left. If a man has anything to lose,

[45] See his remarkable letter to the king, of October 21st, 1563: "A los que destos merecen, quítenles las caveças, hasta poderlo hace dissimular con ellos." Papiers d'État de Granvelle, tom. vii. p. 233.

they set him down at once as a heretic." [46] If the writer may be thought to have borrowed something from his fears,[47] it cannot be doubted that the panic was general in the country. Men emigrated by thousands and tens of thousands, carrying with them to other lands the arts and manufactures which had so long been the boast and the source of prosperity of the Netherlands.[48] Those who remained were filled with a dismal apprehension,—a boding of coming evil, as they beheld the heavens darkening around them and the signs of the tempest at hand.

A still deeper gloom lay upon Brussels, once the gayest city in the Netherlands,—now the residence of Alva. All business was suspended. Places of public resort were unfrequented. The streets were silent and deserted. Several of the nobles

[46] "Les Espaignols font les plus grandes foulles qu'on ne sçauroit escryre; ils confisquent tout, à tort, à droit, disant que touts sont hérétiques, qui ont du bien, et ont à perdre."—The indignant writer does not omit to mention the "two thousand" strumpets who came in the duke's train; "so," he adds, "with what we have already, there will be no lack of this sort of wares in the country." Lettre de Jean de Hornes, August 25th, 1567, Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 565.

[47] Clough, Sir Thomas Gresham's agent, who was in the Low Countries at this time, mentions the license of the Spaniards. It is but just to add that he says the government took prompt measures to repress it, by ordering some of the principal offenders to the gibbet. Burgon, Life of Gresham, vol. ii. pp. 229, 230.

[48] The duchess, in a letter to Philip, September 8th, 1567, says that a hundred thousand people fled the country on the coming of Alva! (Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 357.) If this be thought a round exaggeration, dictated by policy or by fear, still there are positive proofs that the emigration at this period was excessive. Thus, by a return made of the population of London and its suburbs, this very year of 1567, it appears that the number of Flemings was as large as that of all other foreigners put together. See Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Bruxelles, tom. xiv. p. 127.

and wealthier citizens had gone to their estates in the country, to watch there the aspect of events.[49] Most of the courtiers who remained—the gilded insects that loved the sunshine—had left the regent's palace and gone to pay their homage to her rival at Culemborg House. There everything went merrily as in the gayest time of Brussels. For the duke strove, by brilliant entertainments and festivities, to amuse the nobles and dissipate the gloom of the capital.[50]

In all this Alva had a deeper motive than met the public eye. He was carrying out the policy which he had recommended to Philip. By courteous and conciliatory manners he hoped to draw around him the great nobles, especially such as had been at all mixed up with the late revolutionary movements. Of these, Egmont was still at Brussels, but Hoorne had withdrawn to his estates at Weert.[51] Hoogstraten was in Germany with the prince of Orange. As to the latter, Alva, as he wrote to the king, could not flatter himself with the hope of his return.[52]

The duke and his son Ferdinand both wrote to

[49] Thus Jean de Hornes, Baron de Boxtel, writes to the prince of Orange: "J'ay prins une résolution pour mon faict et est que je fay tout effort de scavoir si l'on poulrast estre seurement en sa maison: si ainsy est, me retireray en une des miennes le plus abstractement que possible sera; sinon, regarderay de chercher quelque résidence en desoubs ung aultre Prince." Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 125.

[50] Goethe, in his noble tragedy of "Egmont," seems to have borrowed a hint from Shakspeare's "blanket of the dark," to depict the gloom of Brussels,—where he speaks of the heavens as wrapt in a dark pall from the fatal hour when the duke entered the city. Act iv. Scene 1.

[51] Vera y Figueroa, Vida de Alva, p. 89.

[52] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 578.

Count Hoorne in the most friendly terms, inviting him to come to Brussels.[53] But this distrustful nobleman still kept aloof. Alva, in a conversation with the count's secretary, expressed the warmest solicitude for the health of his master. He had always been his friend, he said, and had seen with infinite regret that the count's services were no better appreciated by the king.[54] But Philip was a good prince, and, if slow to recompense, the count would find him not ungrateful. Could the duke but see the count, he had that to say which would content him. He would find he was not forgotten by his friends.[55] This last assurance had a terrible significance. Hoorne yielded at length to an invitation couched in terms so flattering. With Hoogstraten, Alva was not so fortunate. His good genius, or the counsel of Orange, saved him from the snare, and kept him in Germany.[56]

Having nothing further to gain by delay, Alva determined to proceed at once to the execution of his scheme. On the ninth of September the council of state was summoned to meet at Culemborg House. Egmont and Hoorne were present; and

[53] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 563.

[54] "Qu'il lui avait peiné infiniment que le Roi n'eût tenu compte de monseigneur et de ses services, comme il le méritait." Ibid., ubi supra.

[55] "Que s'il voyait M. de Hornes, il lui dirait des choses qui le satisferaient, et par lesquelles celui-ci connaîtrait qu'il n'avait pas été oublié de ses amis." Ibid., p. 564.

[56] According to Strada, Hoogstraten actually set out to return to Brussels, but, detained by illness or some other cause on the road, he fortunately received tidings of the fate of his friends in season to profit by it and make his escape. De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 358.

two or three of the officers, among them Paciotti, the engineer, were invited to discuss a plan of fortification for some of the Flemish cities. In the mean time, strong guards had been posted at all the avenues of the house, and cavalry drawn together from the country and established in the suburbs.

The duke prolonged the meeting until information was privately communicated to him of the arrest of Backerzele, Egmont's secretary, and Van Stralen, the burgomaster of Antwerp. The former was a person of great political sagacity, and deep in the confidence of Egmont; the latter, the friend of Orange, with whom he was still in constant correspondence. The arrest of Backerzele, who resided in Brussels, was made without difficulty, and possession was taken of his papers. Van Stralen was surrounded by a body of horse as he was driving out of Antwerp in his carriage; and both of the unfortunate gentlemen were brought prisoners to Culemborg House.

As soon as these tidings were conveyed to Alva, he broke up the meeting of the council. Then, entering into conversation with Egmont, he strolled with him through the adjoining rooms, in one of which was a small body of soldiers. As the two nobles entered the apartment, Sancho Davila, the captain of the duke's guard, went up to Egmont, and in the king's name demanded his sword, telling him at the same time he was his prisoner.[57]

[57] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 359.—Ossorio, Albæ Vita, tom. ii. p. 248.—Also the memoirs of that "Thunderbolt of War," as his biographer styles him, Sancho Davila himself. Hechos de Sancho Davila, p. 29.—A report, sufficiently meagre, of the affair, was sent

The count, astounded by the proceeding, and seeing himself surrounded by soldiers, made no attempt at resistance, but calmly, and with much dignity in his manner, gave up his sword, saying, at the same time, "It has done the king service more than once." [58] And well might he say so; for with that sword he had won the fields of Gravelines and St. Quentin.[59]

Hoorne fell into a similar ambuscade, in another part of the palace, whither he was drawn while conversing with the duke's son, Ferdinand de Toledo, who, according to his father's account, had the whole merit of arranging this little drama.[60] Neither did the admiral make any resistance, but, on learning Egmont's fate, yielded himself up, saying "he had no right to expect to fare better than his friend." [61]

It now became a question as to the disposal of

by Alva to the king. In this no mention is made of his having accompanied Egmont when he left the room where they had been conferring together. See Documentos inéditos, tom. ii. p. 418.

[58] "Et tamen hoc ferro sæpè ego Regis causam non infeliciter defendi." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 359.

[59] Clough, Sir Thomas Gresham's correspondent, in a letter from Brussels, of the same date with the arrest of Egmont, gives an account of his bearing on the occasion, which differs somewhat from that in the text; not more, however, than the popular rumors of any strange event of recent occurrence are apt to differ: "And as touching the County of Egmond, he was (as the saying ys) apprehendyd by the Duke, and comyttd to the offysers: whereuppon, when the capytane that had charge [of him] demandyd hys weapon, he was in a grett rage; and tooke hys sword from hys syde, and cast it to the grounde." Burgon, Life of Gresham, vol. ii. p. 234.

[60] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 574.

[61] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 359.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.—Hechos de Sancho Davila, p. 29.—Ossorio, Albæ Vita, tom. ii. p. 248.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 223.—Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 418.

the prisoners. Culemborg House was clearly no fitting place for their confinement. Alva caused several castles in the neighborhood of Brussels to be examined, but they were judged insecure. He finally decided on Ghent. The strong fortress of that city was held by one of Egmont's own partisans; but an order was obtained from the count requiring him to deliver up the keys into the hands of Ulloa, one of Alva's most trusted captains, who, at the head of a corps of Spanish veterans, marched to Ghent and relieved the Walloon garrison of their charge. Ulloa gave proof of his vigilance, immediately on his arrival, by seizing a heavy wagon loaded with valuables belonging to Egmont, as it was leaving the castle gate.[62]

Having completed these arrangements, the duke lost no time in sending the two lords, under a strong military escort, to Ghent. Two companies of mounted arquebusiers rode in the front. A regiment of Spanish infantry, which formed the centre, guarded the prisoners; one of whom, Egmont, was borne in a litter carried by mules, while Hoorne was in his own carriage. The rear was brought up by three companies of light horse.

Under this strong guard the unfortunate nobles were conducted through the province where Egmont had lately ruled "with an authority," writes Alva's secretary, "greater even than that of the king."[63] But no attempt was made at a rescue; and as the procession entered the gates of Ghent,

[62] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 226.

[63] "Toutes ces mésures étaient nécessaires, vu la grande autorité du comte d'Egmont en ces pays, qui ne connaissient d'autre roi que lui." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 582.

where Egmont's popularity was equal to his power, the people gazed in stupefied silence on the stern array that was conducting their lord to the place of his confinement.[64]

The arrest of Egmont and Hoorne was known, in a few hours after it took place, to every inhabitant of Brussels; and the tidings soon spread to the farthest parts of the country. "The imprisonment of the lords," writes Alva to the king, "has caused no disturbance. The tranquillity is such that your majesty would hardly credit it."[65] True; but the tranquillity was that of a man stunned by a heavy blow. If murmurs were not loud, however, they were deep. Men mourned over the credulity of the two counts, who had so blindly fallen into the snare, and congratulated one another on the forecast of the prince of Orange, who might one day have the power to avenge them.[66] The event gave a new spur to emigration. In the space of a few weeks no less than twenty thousand persons are said to have fled the country.[67] And the exiles were not altogether drawn from the humbler ranks; for no one, however high, could feel secure when he saw the blow aimed at men like Egmont and Hoorne, the former of whom, if he had given some cause of distrust, had long since made his peace with the government.

[64] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 582.—Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.

[65] "L'emprisonnement des deux comtes ne donne lieu à aucune rumeur; au contraire, la tranquillité est si grande, que le Roi ne le pourrait croire." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 575.

[66] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 359.

[67] Brandt, Reformation in the Low Countries, vol. i. p. 260.

Count Mansfeldt made haste to send his son out of the country, lest the sympathy he had once shown for the confederates, notwithstanding his recent change of opinion, might draw on him the vengeance of Alva. The old count, whose own loyalty could not be impeached, boldly complained of the arrest of the lords as an infringement on the rights of the *Toison d'Or*, which body alone had cognizance of the causes that concerned their order, intimating, at the same time, his intention to summon a meeting of the members. But he was silenced by Alva, who plainly told him that if the chevaliers of the order did meet, and said so much as the *credo*, he would bring them to a heavy reckoning for it. "As to the rights of the *Toison*, his majesty has pronounced on them," said the duke, "and nothing remains for you but to submit." [68]

The arrest and imprisonment of the two highest nobles in the land, members of the council of state, and that without any communication with her, was an affront to the regent which she could not brook. It was in vain that Alva excused it by saying it had been done by the order of the king, who wished to spare his sister the unpopularity which must attach to such a proceeding. Margaret made no reply. She did not complain. She was too deeply wounded to complain. But she wrote to Philip, asking him to consider "whether it could be advantageous to him, or decorous for her, whom he did

[68] "Que, s'il apprenait que quelques-uns en fissent, encore même que se fût pour dire le *credo*, il les châtierait; que, quant aux priviléges de l'Ordre, le Roi, après un mûr examen de ceux-ci, avait prononcé, et qu'on devait se soumettre." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 578.

not disdain to call his sister, that she should remain longer in a place of which the authority was so much abridged, or rather annihilated." [69] She sent her secretary, Machiavelli, with her despatches, requesting an immediate reply from Philip, and adding that if it were delayed she should take silence for assent, and forthwith leave the country.

The duke of Alva was entirely resigned to the proposed departure of Margaret. However slight the restraint her presence might impose on his conduct, it exacted more deference than was convenient, and compelled him to consult appearances. Now that he had shown his hand, he was willing to play it out boldly to the end. His first step after the arrest of the lords was to organize that memorable tribunal for inquiring into the troubles of the country, which has no parallel in history save in the revolutionary tribunal of the French republic. The duke did not shrink from assuming the sole responsibility of his measures. He said, "it was better for the king to postpone his visit to the Netherlands, so that his ministers might bear alone the odium of these rigorous acts. When these had been performed, he might come like a gracious prince, dispensing promises and pardon." [70]

[69] "Adeò contracto ac penè nullo cum imperio moderari, an utile Regi, an decorum ei quam Rex sororem appellare non indignatur, illius meditationi relinquere." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 360.

[70] "Il vaut mieux que le Roi attende, pour venir, que tous les actes de rigueur aient été faits; il entrera alors dans le pays comme prince benin et clément, pardonnant, et accordant des faveurs à ceux qui l'auront mérité." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 577.

This admirable coolness must be referred in part to Alva's consciousness that his policy would receive the unqualified sanction of his master. Indeed, his correspondence shows that all he had done in the Low Countries was in accordance with a plan preconcerted with Philip. The arrest of the Flemish lords, accordingly, gave entire satisfaction at the court of Madrid, where it was looked on as the first great step in the measures of redress. It gave equal contentment to the court of Rome, where it was believed that the root of heresy was to be reached only by the axe of the executioner. Yet there was one person at that court of more penetration than those around him, the old statesman Granvelle, who, when informed of the arrest of Egmont and Hoorne, inquired if the duke had "also drawn into his net the *Silent one*,"—as the prince of Orange was popularly called. On being answered in the negative, "Then," said the cardinal, "if he has not caught him, he has caught nothing." [71]

[71] "An captus quoque fuisset Taciturnus (sic Orangium nominabat), atque eo negante dixisse fertur, Uno illo retibus non incluso, nihil ab Duce Albano captum." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 360.

CHAPTER II

CRUEL POLICY OF ALVA

The Council of Blood—Its Organization—General Prosecutions—Civil War in France—Departure of Margaret—Her Administration reviewed

1567

"THANK God," writes the duke of Alva to his sovereign, on the twenty-fourth of October, "all is tranquil in the Low Countries." [1] It was the same sentiment he had uttered a few weeks before. All was indeed tranquil. Silence reigned throughout the land. Yet it might have spoken more eloquently to the heart than the murmurs of discontent or the loudest tumult of insurrection. "They say many are leaving the country," he writes in another despatch. "It is hardly worth while to arrest them. The repose of the nation is not to be brought about by cutting off the heads of those who are led astray by others." [2]

Yet in less than a week after this we find a royal ordinance declaring that, "whereas his majesty is averse to use rigor towards those who have taken part in the late rebellion, and would rather deal with them in all gentleness and mercy,[3]

[1] "Grace à Dieu, tout est parfaitement tranquille aux Pays-Bas." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 589.

[2] "Le repos aux Pays-Bas ne consiste pas à faire couper la tête à des hommes qui se sont laissé persuader par d'autres." Ibid., p. 576.

[3] "Os habem os hecho entender que nuestra intension era de no usar de rigor contra nuestros subegetos que durante las revueltas

it is forbidden to any one to leave the land, or to send off his effects, without obtaining a license from the authorities, under pain of being regarded as having taken part in the late troubles, and of being dealt with accordingly. All masters and owners of vessels who shall aid such persons in their flight shall incur the same penalties." [4] The penalties denounced in this spirit of "gentleness and mercy" were death and confiscation of property.

That the law was not a dead letter was soon shown by the arrest of ten of the principal merchants of Tournay as they were preparing to fly to foreign parts, and by the immediate confiscation of their estates.[5] Yet Alva would have persuaded the world that he, as well as his master, was influenced only by sentiments of humanity. To the Spanish ambassador at Rome he wrote, soon after the seizure of the Flemish lords, "I might have arrested more; but the king is averse to shedding the blood of his people. I have the same disposition myself.[6] I am pained to the bottom of my soul by the necessity of the measure."

But now that the great nobles had come into the

pasadas pudiesen haber ofendido contra Nos, *sino de toda dulzura y clemencia segun nuestra inclinacion natural.*" Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 440.

[4] The ordinance, dated September 18th, 1567, copied from the Archives of Simancas, is to be found in the Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 439, et seq.

[5] "Statimque mercatores decem primarios Tornacenses è portu Flissingano fugam in Britanniam adornantes capi, ac bonis exutos custodiri jubet." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 361.

[6] "Mais l'intention de S. M. n'est pas de verser le sang de ses sujets, et moi, de mon naturel, je ne l'aime pas davantage." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 576.

snare, it was hardly necessary to keep up the affectation of lenity; and it was not long before he threw away the mask altogether. The arm of justice—of vengeance—was openly raised to strike down all who had offended by taking part in the late disturbances.

The existing tribunals were not considered as competent to this work. The regular forms of procedure were too dilatory, and the judges themselves would hardly be found subservient enough to the will of Alva. He created, therefore, a new tribunal, with extraordinary powers, for the sole purpose of investigating the causes of the late disorders and for bringing the authors to punishment. It was called originally the "Council of his Excellency." The name was soon changed for that of the "Council of Tumults." But the tribunal is better known in history by the terrible name it received from the people, of the "*Council of Blood.*"[7]

It was composed of twelve judges, "the most learned, upright men, and of the purest lives,"—if we may take the duke's word for it,—that were to be found in the country.[8] Among them were Noircarmes and Barlaimont, both members of the council of state. The latter was a proud noble, of one of the most ancient families in the land, inflexible in his character, and stanch in his devotion to the crown. Besides these there were the presi-

[7] "Novum igitur consessum judicum instituit, exteris in eum plerisque adscitis; quem Turbarum ille; plebes, Sanguinis appellabat Senatum." Reidani Annales (Lugdunum Batavorum, 1633), p. 5.

[8] "Les plus savants et les plus intègres du pays, et de la meilleure vie." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 576.

dents of the councils of Artois and Flanders, the chancellors of Gueldres, and several jurists of repute in the country. But the persons of most consideration in the body were two lawyers who had come in the duke's train from Castile. One of these, the doctor Del Rio, though born in Bruges, was of Spanish extraction. His most prominent trait seems to have been unlimited subserviency to the will of his employer.[9] The other, Juan de Vargas, was to play the most conspicuous part in the bloody drama that followed. He was a Spaniard, and had held a place in the Council of the Indies. His character was infamous; and he was said to have defrauded an orphan ward of her patrimony.[10] When he left Spain, two criminal prosecutions are reported to have been hanging over him. This only made him the more dependent on Alva's protection. He was a man of great energy of character, unwearied in application to business, unscrupulous in the service of his employer, ready at any price to sacrifice to his own interest not only every generous impulse, but the common feelings of humanity. Such, at least, are the dark colors in which he is portrayed by the writers of a nation which held him in detestation. Yet his very vices made him so convenient to the duke that the latter soon bestowed on him more of his confidence than on any other of his followers;[11] and in his corre-

[9] Correspondance de Marguerite d'Autriche, p. 300.

[10] Meteren, Hist. des Pays-Bas, fol. 54.

[11] Viglius, who had not yet seen the man, thus mentions him in a letter to his friend Hopper: "Imperium ac rigorem metuunt cujusdam Vergasi, qui apud eum multum posse, et nescio quid aliud, dicitur." Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 451.

spondence with Philip we perpetually find him commending Vargas to the monarch's favor, and contrasting his "activity, altogether juvenile," with the apathy of others of the council.[12] As Vargas was unacquainted with Flemish, the proceedings of the court were conducted, for his benefit, in Latin.[13] Yet he was such a bungler even in this language that his blunders furnished infinite merriment to the people of Flanders, who took some revenge for their wrongs in the ridicule of their oppressor.

As the new court had cognizance of all cases, civil as well as criminal, that grew out of the late disorders, the amount of business soon pressed on them so heavily that it was found expedient to distribute it into several departments among the different members. Two of the body had especial charge of the processes of the prince of Orange, his brother Louis, Hoogstraten, Culemborg, and the rest of William's noble companions in exile. To Vargas and Del Rio was intrusted the trial of Counts Egmont and Hoorne. And two others, Blasere and Hessels, had the most burdensome and important charge of all such causes as came from the provinces.[14]

The latter of these two worthies was destined to occupy a place second only to that of Vargas on the bloody roll of persecution. He was a native of Ghent, of sufficient eminence in his profession

[12] "Une activité toute juvénile." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 583.

[13] Ibid., ubi supra.

[14] Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 58.

to fill the office of attorney-general of his province under Charles the Fifth. In that capacity he enforced the edicts with so much rigor as to make himself odious to his countrymen. In the new career now opened to him he found a still wider field for his mischievous talents, and he entered on the duties of his office with such hearty zeal as soon roused general indignation in the people, who at a later day took terrible vengeance on their oppressor.[15]

As soon as the Council of Troubles was organized, commissioners were despatched into the provinces to hunt out the suspected parties. All who had officiated as preachers, or had harbored or aided them, who had joined the consistories, who had assisted in defacing or destroying the Catholic churches or in building the Protestant, who had subscribed the Compromise, or who, in short, had taken an active part in the late disorders, were to be arrested as guilty of treason. In the hunt after victims, informations were invited from every source. Wives were encouraged to depose against husbands, children against parents. The prisons were soon full to overflowing, and the provincial and the local magistrates were busy in filing informations of the different cases, which were forwarded to the court at Brussels. When deemed

[15] Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 242.—Hessels was married to a niece of Viglius. According to the old councillor, she was on bad terms with her husband, because he had not kept his promise of resigning the office of attorney-general, in which he made himself so unpopular in Flanders. (Epist. ad Hopperum, p. 495.) In the last chapter of this Book the reader will find some mention of the tragic fate of Hessels.

of sufficient importance, the further examination of a case was reserved for the council itself. But for the most part the local authorities, or a commission sent expressly for the purpose, were authorized to try the cause, proceeding even to a definitive sentence, which, with the grounds of it, they were to lay before the Council of Troubles. The process was then revised by the committee for the provinces, who submitted the result of their examination to Vargas and Del Rio. The latter were alone empowered to vote in the matter, and their sentence, prepared in writing, was laid before the duke, who reserved to himself the right of a final decision. This he did, as he wrote to Philip, that he might not come too much under the direction of the council. "Your majesty well knows," he concludes, "that gentlemen of the law are unwilling to decide anything except upon evidence, while measures of state policy are not to be regulated by the laws." [16]

It might be supposed that the different judges to whom the prisoner's case was thus separately submitted for examination would have afforded an additional guarantee for his security. But quite the contrary: it only multiplied the chances of his conviction. When the provincial committee presented their report to Vargas and Del Rio,—to whom a Spanish jurist, auditor of the chancery of Valladolid, named Roda, was afterwards added,—if it proposed sentence of death, these judges de-

[16] "Letrados no sentencian sino en casos probados; y como V. M. sabe, los negocios de Estado son muy diferentes de las leyes que ellos tienen." Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 52, note.

clared it " was right, and that there was no necessity of reviewing the process." If, on the contrary, a lower penalty was recommended, the worthy ministers of the law were in the habit of returning the process, ordering the committee, with bitter imprecations, to revise it more carefully![17]

As confiscation was one of the most frequent as well as momentous penalties adjudged by the Council of Blood, it necessarily involved a large number of civil actions; for the estate thus forfeited was often burdened with heavy claims on it by other parties. These were all to be established before the council. One may readily comprehend how small was the chance of justice before such a tribunal, where the creditor was one of the parties and the crown the other. Even if the suit was decided in favor of the creditor, it was usually so long protracted, and attended with such ruinous expense, that it would have been better for him never to have urged it.[18]

The jurisdiction of the court, within the limits assigned to it, wholly superseded that of the great court of Mechlin, as well as of every other tribunal, provincial or municipal, in the country. Its decisions were final. By the law of the land, established by repeated royal charters in the provinces, no man

[17] " En siendo el aviso de condemnar á muerte, se decia que estaba muy bien y no habia mas que ver; empero, si el aviso era de menor pena, no se estaba á lo que ellos decian, sino tornabase á ver el proceso, y decianles sobre ello malas palabras, y hacianles ruin tratamiento." Gachard cites the words of the official document, Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 67.

[18] Ibid., p. 68, et seq.

in the Netherlands could be tried by any but a native judge. But of the present court, one member was a native of Burgundy and two were Spaniards.

It might be supposed that a tribunal with such enormous powers, which involved so gross an outrage on the constitutional rights and long-established usages of the nation, would at least have been sanctioned by some warrant from the crown. It could pretend to nothing of the kind,—not even a written commission from the duke of Alva, the man who created it. By his voice alone he gave it an existence. The ceremony of induction into office was performed by the new member placing his hands between those of the duke and swearing to remain true to the faith, to decide in all cases according to his sincere conviction, finally, to keep secret all the doings of the council and to denounce any one who disclosed them.[19] A tribunal clothed with such unbounded power, and conducted on a plan so repugnant to all principles of justice, fell nothing short, in its atrocity, of that Inquisition so much dreaded in the Netherlands.

Alva, in order to be the better able to attend the council, appointed his own palace for the place of meeting. At first the sittings were held morning and afternoon, lasting sometimes seven hours in a

[19] "Qu'ils seraient et demeureraient à jamais bons catholiques, selon que commandait l'Église catholique romaine; que, par haine, amour, pitié ou crainte de personne, ils ne laisseraient de dire franchement et sincèrement leur avis, selon qu'en bonne justice ils trouvaient convenir et appartenir; qu'ils tiendraient secret tout ce qui se traiterait au conseil, et qu'ils accuseraient ceux qui feraient le contraire." Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 56.

day.[20] There was a general attendance of the members, the duke presiding in person. After a few months, as he was drawn to a distance by more pressing affairs, he resigned his place to Vargas. Barlaimont and Noircarmes, disgusted with the atrocious character of the proceedings, soon absented themselves from the meetings. The more respectable of the members imitated their example. One of the body, a Burgundian, a follower of Granvelle, having criticised the proceedings somewhat too freely, had leave to withdraw to his own province;[21] till at length only three or four councillors remained,—Vargas, Del Rio, Hessels and his colleague,—on whom the despatch of the momentous business wholly devolved. To some of the processes we find not more than three names subscribed. The duke was as indifferent to forms as he was to the rights of the nation.[22]

[20] Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. p. 57.

[21] Belin, in a letter to his patron, Cardinal Granvelle, gives full vent to his discontent with "three or four Spaniards in the duke's train, who would govern all in his name. They make but one head under the same hat." He mentions Vargas and Del Rio in particular. Granvelle's reply is very characteristic. Far from sympathizing with his querulous follower, he predicts the ruin of his fortunes by this mode of proceeding. "A man who would rise in courts must do as he is bidden, without question. Far from taking umbrage, he must bear in mind that injuries, like pills, should be swallowed without chewing, that one may not taste the bitterness of them;"—a noble maxim, if the motive had been noble. See Levesque, Mémoires de Granvelle, tom. ii. pp. 91–94.

[22] The historians of the time are all more or less diffuse on the doings of the Council of Troubles, written as they are in characters of blood. But we look in vain for any account of the interior organization of that tribunal, or of its mode of judicial procedure. This may be owing to the natural reluctance which the actors themselves felt, in later times, to being mixed up with the proceedings of a court so universally detested. For the same reason, as Gachard intimates, they may not improbably have even destroyed some of

It soon became apparent that, as in most proscriptions, wealth was the mark at which persecution was mainly directed. At least, if it did not actually form a ground of accusation, it greatly enhanced the chances of a conviction. The commissioners sent to the provinces received written instructions to ascertain the exact amount of property belonging to the suspected parties. The expense incident on the maintenance of so many officials, as well as of a large military force, pressed heavily on the government; and Alva soon found it necessary to ask for support from Madrid. It was in vain he attempted to obtain a loan from the merchants. "They refuse," he writes, "to advance a *real* on the security of the confiscations, till they see how *the game* we have begun is likely to prosper!" [23]

In another letter to Philip, dated on the twenty-fourth of October, Alva, expressing his regret at the necessity of demanding supplies, says that the Low Countries ought to maintain themselves and be no tax upon Spain. He is constantly thwarted by the duchess, and by the council of finance, in his appropriation of the confiscated property. Could he only manage things in his own way, he

the records of its proceedings. Fortunately, that zealous and patriotic scholar has discovered in the archives of Simancas sundry letters of Alva and his successor, as well as some of the official records of the tribunal, which in a great degree supply the defect. The result he has embodied in a luminous paper prepared for the Royal Academy of Belgium, which has supplied me with the materials for the preceding pages. See Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres, et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, tom. xvi. par. ii. pp. 50–78.

[23] "Hasta que vean en que para este juego que se comiença." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 598.

would answer for it that the Flemish cities, uncertain and anxious as to their fate, would readily acquiesce in the fair means of raising a revenue proposed by the king.[24] The ambitious general, eager to secure the sole authority to himself, artfully touched on the topic which would be most likely to operate with his master. In a note on this passage, in his own handwriting, Philip remarked that this was but just, but, as he feared that supplies would never be raised with the consent of the states, Alva must devise some expedient by which their consent in the matter might be dispensed with, and communicate it *privately* to him.[25] This pregnant thought he soon after develops more fully in a letter to the duke.[26] It is edifying to observe the cool manner in which the king and his general discuss the best means for filching a revenue from the pockets of the good people of the Netherlands.

Margaret,—whose name now rarely appears,—scandalized by the plan avowed of wholesale persecution, and satisfied that blood enough had been shed already, would fain have urged her brother to grant a general pardon. But to this the duke strongly objected. "He would have every man,"

[24] "Car l'incertitude où celles-ci se trouvent du sort qu'on leur réserve, les fera plus aisément consentir aux moyens de finances justes et honnêtes qui seront établis par le Roi." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 590.

[25] "Porqué creo yo que, con la voluntad de los Estados, no se hallarán estas, que es menester ponerlos de manera que no sea menester su voluntad y consentimiento para ello. . . . Esto irá en cifra, y aun creo que seria bien que fuese en una cartilla à parte que descifrase el mas confidente." Ibid., ubi supra.

[26] Ibid., p. 610.

he wrote to Philip, "feel that any day his house might fall about his ears.[27] Thus private individuals would be induced to pay larger sums by way of composition for their offences."

As the result of the confiscations, owing to the drains upon them above alluded to, proved less than he expected, the duke, somewhat later, proposed a tax of one per cent. on all property, personal and real. But to this some of the council had the courage to object, as a thing not likely to be relished by the states. "That depends," said Alva, "on the way in which they are approached." He had as little love for the states-general as his master, and looked on applications to them for money as something derogatory to the crown. "I would take care to ask for it," he said, "as I did when I wanted money to build the citadel of Antwerp,—in such a way that they should not care to refuse it." [28]

The most perfect harmony seems to have subsisted between the king and Alva in their operations for destroying the liberties of the nation,—so perfect, indeed, that it could have been the result only of some previous plan, concerted probably while the duke was in Castile. The details of the execution were doubtless left, as they arose, to Alva's discretion. But they so entirely received

[27] "Para que cada uno piense que á la noche, ó á la mañana, se le puede caer la casa encima." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 4.

[28] "Esto se ha de proponer en la forma que yo propuse á los de Anvers los cuatrocientos mill florines para la ciudadela, y que ellos entiendan que aunque se les propone y se les pide, es en tal manera que lo que se propusiere no se ha de dejar de hacer." Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 492.

the royal sanction—as is abundantly shown by the correspondence—that Philip may be said to have made every act of his general his own. And not unfrequently we find the monarch improving on the hints of his correspondent by some additional suggestion.[29] Whatever evils grew out of the mal-administration of the duke of Alva, the responsibility for the measures rests ultimately on the head of Philip.

One of the early acts of the new council was to issue a summons to the prince of Orange, and to each of the noble exiles in his company, to present themselves at Brussels and answer the charges against them. In the summons addressed to William, he was accused of having early encouraged a spirit of disaffection in the nation; of bringing the Inquisition into contempt; of promoting the confederacy of the nobles and opening his own palace of Breda for their discussions; of authorizing the exercise of the reformed religion in Antwerp; in fine, of being at the bottom of the troubles, civil and religious, which had so long distracted the land. He was required, therefore, under pain of confiscation of his property and perpetual exile, to present himself before the council at Brussels within the space of six weeks, and answer the charges against him. This summons

[29] Thus, for example, when Alva states that the council had declared all those who signed the Compromise guilty of treason, Philip notes, in his own handwriting, on the margin of the letter, "The same should be done with all who aided and abetted them, as in fact the more guilty party." (Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 590.) These private memoranda of Philip are of real value to the historian, letting him behind the curtain, where the king's own ministers could not always penetrate.

was proclaimed by the public crier both in Brussels and in William's own town of Breda; and a placard containing it was affixed to the door of the principal church in each of those places.[30]

Alva followed up this act by another, which excited general indignation through the country. He caused the count of Buren, William's eldest son, then a lad pursuing his studies at Louvain, to be removed from the university and sent to Spain. His tutor and several of his domestics were allowed to accompany him. But the duke advised the king to get rid of these attendants as speedily as possible, and fill their places with Spaniards.[31] This unwarrantable act appears to have originated with Granvelle, who recommends it in one of his letters from Rome.[32] The object, no doubt, was to secure some guarantee for the father's obedience, as well as to insure the loyalty of the heir of the house of Nassau and to retain him in the Catholic faith. In the last object the plan succeeded. The youth was kindly treated by Philip, and his long residence in Spain nourished in him so strong an attachment to both Church and crown that he was ever after divorced from the great cause in which his father and his countrymen were embarked.

The prince of Orange published to the world

[30] Cornejo, Disension de Flandes, fol. 63, et seq.—Hist. des Troubles et Guerres civiles des Pays-Bas, pp. 133–136.—Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. pp. 428–439.—Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 119.

[31] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 13.

[32] "Non-seulement afin qu'il servît d'ôtage pour ce que son père pourrait faire en Allemagne, mais pour qu'il fût élevé catholiquement." Ibid., tom. i. p. 596.

his sense of the injury done to him by this high-handed proceeding of the duke of Alva; and the university of Louvain boldly sent a committee to the council to remonstrate on the violation of their privileges. Vargas listened to them with a smile of contempt, and, as he dismissed the deputation, exclaimed, "*Non curamus vestros privilegios*,"—an exclamation long remembered for its bad Latin as well as for its insolence.[33]

It may well be believed that neither William nor his friends obeyed the summons of the Council of Blood. The prince, in a reply which was printed and circulated abroad, denied the authority of Alva to try him. As a knight of the Golden Fleece, he had a right to be tried by his peers; as a citizen of Brabant, by his countrymen. He was not bound to present himself before an incompetent tribunal,—one, moreover, which had his avowed personal enemy at its head.[34]

The prince, during his residence in Germany, experienced all those alleviations of his misfortunes which the sympathy and support of powerful friends could afford. Among these the most deserving of notice was William the Wise, the worthy son of the famous old landgrave of Hesse who so stoutly maintained the Protestant cause against Charles the Fifth. He and the elector of Saxony, both kinsmen of William's wife, offered to provide an establishment for the prince, while he remained in Germany, which, if it was not on

[33] Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 372.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 261.

[34] Strada, ubi supra.—Vandervynckt, Troubles des Pays-Bas, tom. ii. p. 243.—Aubéri, Histoire de Hollande, p. 25.

the magnificent scale to which he had been used in the Netherlands, was still not unsuited to the dignity of his rank.[35]

The little court of William received every day fresh accessions from those who fled from persecution in the Netherlands. They brought with them appeals to him from his countrymen to interpose in their behalf. The hour had not yet come. But still he was not idle. He was earnestly endeavoring to interest the German princes in the cause, was strengthening his own resources, and steadily, though silently, making preparations for the great struggle with the oppressors of his country.

While these events were passing in the Netherlands, the neighboring monarchy of France was torn by those religious dissensions which at this period agitated, in a greater or less degree, most of the states of Christendom. One half of the French nation was in arms against the other half. At the time of our history the Huguenots had gained a temporary advantage; their combined forces were beleaguering the capital, in which the king and Catherine de Medicis, his mother, were then held prisoners. In this extremity, Catherine appealed to Margaret to send a body of troops to her assistance. The regent hesitated as to what course to take, and referred the matter to Alva. He did not hesitate. He knew Philip's disposition in regard to France, and had himself, probably, come to an understanding on the subject with the queen-mother in the famous interview at Bayonne.

[35] Archives de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau, tom. iii. p. 159.

He proposed to send a body of three thousand horse to her relief. At the same time he wrote to Catherine, offering to leave the Low Countries and march himself to her support with his whole strength, five thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, all his Spanish veterans included, provided she would bring matters to an issue and finish at once with the enemies of their religion. The duke felt how powerfully such a result would react on the Catholic cause in the Netherlands.

He besought Catherine to come to no terms with the rebels; above all, to make them no concessions. "Such concessions must of necessity be either spiritual or temporal. If spiritual, they would be opposed to the rights of God; if temporal, to the rights of the king. Better to reign over a ruined land, which yet remains true to its God and its king, than over one left unharmed for the benefit of the devil and his followers, the heretics." [36] In this declaration, breathing the full spirit of religious and political absolutism, may be found the true key to the policy of Alva and of his master.

Philip heartily approved of the views taken by his general.[37] As the great champion of Catholi-

[36] "Or, il vaut beaucoup mieux avoir un royaume ruiné, en le conservant pour Dieu et le roi, au moyen de la guerre, que de l'avoir tout entier sans celle-ci, au profit du démon et des hérétiques, ses sectateurs." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 609.

[37] This appears not merely from the king's letters to the duke, but from a still more unequivocal testimony, the minutes in his own handwriting on the duke's letters to him. See, in particular, his summary approval of the reply which Alva tells him he has made to Catherine de Medicis: "Yo lo mismo, todo lo demas que dice en este capitulo, que todo ha sido muy á proposito." Ibid., p. 591.

cism, he looked with the deepest interest on the religious struggle going forward in the neighboring kingdom, which exercised so direct an influence on the revolutionary movements in the Netherlands. He strongly encouraged the queen-mother to yield nothing to the heretics. "With his own person," he declared, "and with all that he possessed, he was ready to serve the French crown in its contest with the rebels."[38] Philip's zeal in the cause was so well understood in France that some of the Catholic leaders did not scruple to look to him, rather than to their own government, as the true head of their party.[39]

Catherine de Medicis did not discover the same uncompromising spirit, and had before this disgusted her royal son-in-law by the politic views which mingled with her religion. On the present occasion she did not profit by the brilliant offer made to her by Alva to come in person at the head of his army. She may have thought so formidable a presence might endanger the independence of the government. Roman Catholic as she was at heart, she preferred, with true Italian policy, balancing the rival factions against each other, to

[38] Ranke, Civil Wars and Monarchy in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Eng. trans.), vol. i. p. 349.

[39] The cardinal of Lorraine went so far as to offer, in a certain contingency, to put several strong frontier places into Alva's hands. In case the French king and his brothers should die without heirs, the king of Spain might urge his own claim through his wife, as nearest of blood, to the crown of France. "The Salic law," adds the duke, "is but a jest. All difficulties will be easily smoothed away with the help of an army." Philip, in a marginal note to this letter, intimates his relish for the proposal. See Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 593.

exterminating either of them altogether. The duke saw that Catherine was not disposed to strike at the root of the evil, and that the advantages to be secured by success would be only temporary. He contented himself, therefore, with despatching a smaller force, chiefly of Flemish troops, under Aremberg. Before the count reached Paris, the battle of St. Denis had been fought. Montmorenci fell, but the royal party was victorious. Catherine made a treaty with the discomfited Huguenots as favorable to them as if they, not she, had won the fight. Alva, disgusted with the issue, ordered the speedy return of Aremberg, whose presence, moreover, was needed on a more active theatre of operations.

During all this while Margaret's position afforded a pitiable contrast to the splendid elevation which she had occupied for so many years as head of the government. Not only had the actual power passed from her hands, but she felt that all her influence had gone with it. She hardly enjoyed even the right of remonstrance. In this position, she had the advantage of being more favorably situated for criticising the conduct of the administration than when she was herself at the head of it. She became more sensible of the wrongs of the people,—now that they were inflicted by other hands than her own. She did not refuse to intercede in their behalf. She deprecated the introduction of a garrison into the good city of Brussels. If this were necessary, she still besought the duke not to allow the loyal inhabitants to be burdened with the maintenance of the sol-

diers.[40] But he turned a deaf ear to her petition. She urged that, after the chastisement already inflicted on the nation, the only way to restore quiet was by a general amnesty. The duke replied that no amnesty could be so general but there must be some exceptions, and it would take time to determine who should be excepted. She recommended that the states be called together to vote the supplies. He evaded this also by saying it would be necessary first to decide on the amount of the subsidy to be raised.[41] The regent felt that in all matters of real moment she had as little weight as any private individual in the country.

From this state of humiliation she was at last relieved by the return of her secretary, Machiavelli, who brought with him despatches from Ruy Gomez, Philip's favorite minister. He informed the duchess that the king, though reluctantly, had at last acceded to her request and allowed her to resign the government of the provinces. In token of his satisfaction with her conduct, his majesty had raised the pension which she had hitherto enjoyed, of eight thousand florins, to fourteen thousand, to be paid her yearly during the remainder of her life. This letter was dated on the sixth of October.[42] Margaret soon after received one,

[40] The municipality of Brussels, alarmed at the interpretation which the duke, after Margaret's departure, might put on certain equivocal passages in their recent history, obtained a letter from the regent, in which she warmly commends the good people of the capital as zealous Catholics, loyal to their king, and on all occasions prompt to show themselves the friends of public order. See the correspondence, ap. Gachard, Analectes Belgiques, p. 343, et seq.

[41] Documentos inéditos, tom. iv. p. 481, et seq.

[42] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 583.

dated four days later, from Philip himself, of much the same tenor with that of his minister. The king, in a few words, intimated the regret he felt at his sister's retirement from office, and the sense he entertained of the services she had rendered him by her long and faithful administration.[43]

The increase of the pension showed no very extravagant estimate of these services; and the parsimonious tribute which, after his long silence, he now, in a few brief sentences, paid to her deserts, too plainly intimated that all she had done had failed to excite even a feeling of gratitude in the bosom of her brother.[44] At the same time with the letter to Margaret came a commission to the duke of Alva, investing him with the title of regent and governor-general, together with all the powers that had been possessed by his predecessor.[45]

Margaret made only one request of Philip, previous to her departure. This he denied her. Her father, Charles the Fifth, at the time of his abdication, had called the states-general together and taken leave of them in a farewell address, which was still cherished as a legacy by his subjects.

[43] The king's acknowledgments to his sister are condensed into the sentence with which he concludes his letter, or, more properly, his billet. This is dated October 13th, 1568, and is published by Gachard, in the Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendix, No. 119.

[44] "Elle reçut," says De Thou, with some humor, "enfin d'Espagne une lettre pleine d'amitié et de tendresse, telle qu'on a coûtume d'écrire à une personne qu'on remercie après l'avoir dépouillée de sa dignité." Hist. universelle, tom. v. p. 439.

[45] A copy of the original is to be found in the Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii., Appendix, No. 118.

Margaret would have imitated his example. The grandeur of the spectacle pleased her imagination, and she was influenced, no doubt, by the honest desire of manifesting, in the hour of separation, some feelings of a kindly nature for the people over whom she had ruled for so many years.

But Philip, as we have seen, had no relish for these meetings of the states. He had no idea of consenting to them on an emergency no more pressing than the present. Margaret was obliged, therefore, to relinquish the pageant, and to content herself with taking leave of the people by letters addressed to the principal cities of the provinces. In these she briefly touched on the difficulties which had lain in her path, and on the satisfaction which she felt at having at length brought the country to a state of tranquillity and order. She besought them to remain always constant in the faith in which they had been nurtured, as well as in their loyalty to a prince so benign and merciful as the king, her brother. In so doing, the blessing of Heaven would rest upon them; and, for her own part, she would ever be found ready to use her good offices in their behalf.[46]

She proved her sincerity by a letter written to Philip, before her departure, in which she invoked his mercy in behalf of his Flemish subjects. "Mercy," she said, "was a divine attribute. The greater the power possessed by a monarch, the nearer he approached the Deity, and the more should he strive to imitate the divine clemency and

[46] The letter has been inserted by Gachard in the Analectes Belgiques, pp. 295–300.

compassion.[47] His royal predecessors had contented themselves with punishing the leaders of sedition, while they spared the masses who repented. Any other course would confound the good with the bad, and bring such calamities on the country as his majesty could not fail to appreciate." [48] Well had it been for the fair fame of Margaret if her counsels had always been guided by such wise and magnanimous sentiments.

The tidings of the regent's abdication were received with dismay throughout the provinces. All the errors of her government, her acts of duplicity, the excessive rigor with which she had of late visited offences,—all were forgotten in the regret felt for her departure. Men thought only of the prosperity which the country had enjoyed under her rule, the confidence which in earlier years she had bestowed on the friends of the people, the generous manner in which she had interposed on more than one occasion to mitigate the hard policy of the court of Madrid. And as they turned from these more brilliant passages of her history, their hearts were filled with dismay while they looked gloomily into the future.

Addresses poured in upon her from all quarters. The different cities vied with one another in expressions of regret for her departure, while they

[47] "Suplicar muy humilmente, y con toda afeccion, que V. M. use de clemencia y misericordia con ellos, conforme á la esperanza que tantas vezes les ha dado, y que tenga en memoria que cuanto mas grandes son los reyes, y se acercan mas á Dios, tanto mas deben ser imitadores de esta grande divina bondad, poder, y clemencia." Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. i. p. 603.

[48] Ibid., loc. cit.

invoked the blessings of Heaven on her remaining days. More than one of the provinces gave substantial evidence of their good will by liberal donatives. Brabant voted her the sum of twenty-five thousand florins, and Flanders thirty thousand.[49] The neighboring princes, and among them Elizabeth of England, joined with the people of the Netherlands in professions of respect for the regent, as well as of regret that she was to relinquish the government.[50]

Cheered by these assurances of the consideration in which she was held both at home and abroad, Margaret quitted Brussels at the close of December, 1567. She was attended to the borders of Brabant by Alva, and thence conducted to Germany by Count Mansfeldt and an escort of Flemish nobles.[51] There bidding adieu to all that remained of her former state, she pursued her journey quietly to Italy. For some time she continued with her husband in his ducal residence at Parma. But, wherever lay the fault, it was Margaret's misfortune to taste but little of the sweets of domestic intercourse. Soon afterwards she removed to Naples, and there permanently established her abode, on estates which had been granted

[49] Correspondance de Philippe II., tom. ii. p. 6.

[50] "Superavitque omnes Elizabetha Angliæ Regina, tam bonæ caræque sororis, uti scribebat, vicinitate in posterum caritura;" "sive," adds the historian, with candid scepticism, "is amor fuit in Margaritam, sive sollicitudo ex Albano successore." Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 365.

[51] Historians vary considerably as to the date of Margaret's departure. She crossed the frontier of the Netherlands probably by the middle of January, 1568. At least, we find a letter from her to Philip when she had nearly reached the borders, dated at Luxembourg, on the twelfth of that month.

her by the crown. Many years later, when her son, Alexander Farnese, was called to the government of the Netherlands, she quitted her retirement to take part with him in the direction of public affairs. It was but for a moment; and her present departure from the Netherlands may be regarded as the close of her political existence.

The government of Margaret continued from the autumn of 1559 to the end of 1567, a period of eight years. It was a stormy and most eventful period; for it was then that the minds of men were agitated to their utmost depths by the new doctrines which gave birth to the revolution. Margaret's regency, indeed, may be said to have furnished the opening scenes of that great drama. The inhabitants of the Low Countries were accustomed to the sway of a woman. Margaret was the third of her line that had been intrusted with the regency. In qualifications for the office she was probably not inferior to her predecessors. Her long residence in Italy had made her acquainted with the principles of government in a country where political science was more carefully studied than in any other quarter of Europe. She was habitually industrious, and her robust frame was capable of any amount of labor. If she was too masculine in her nature to allow of the softer qualities of her sex, she was, on the other hand, exempt from the fondness for pleasure and from most of the frivolities which belonged to the women of the voluptuous clime in which she had lived. She was stanch in her devotion to the Catholic faith; and her loyalty was such that from the

moment of assuming the government she acknowledged no stronger motive than that of conformity to the will of her sovereign. She was fond of power; and she well knew that, with Philip, absolute conformity to his will was the only condition on which it was to be held.

With her natural good sense, and the general moderation of her views, she would, doubtless, have ruled over the land as prosperously as her predecessors, had the times been like theirs. But, unhappily for her, the times had greatly changed. Still, Margaret, living on the theatre of action and feeling the pressure of circumstances, would have gone far to conform to the change. But unfortunately she represented a prince, dwelling at a distance, who knew no change himself, allowed no concessions to others,—whose conservative policy rested wholly on the past.

It was unfortunate for Margaret that she never fully possessed the confidence of Philip. Whether from distrust of her more accommodating temper or of her capacity for government, he gave a larger share of it, at the outset, to Granvelle than to her. If the regent could have been blind to this, her eyes would soon have been opened to the fact by the rivals who hated the minister. It was not long before she hated him too. But the removal of Granvelle did not establish her in her brother's confidence. It rather increased his distrust, by the necessity it imposed on her of throwing herself into the arms of the opposite party, the friends of the people. From this moment Philip's confidence was more heartily bestowed on the duke

of Alva, even on the banished Granvelle, than on the regent. Her letters remained too often unanswered. The answers, when they did come, furnished only dark and mysterious hints of the course to be pursued. She was left to work out the problem of government by herself, sure for every blunder to be called to a strict account. Rumors of the speedy coming of the king suggested the idea that her own dominion was transitory, soon to be superseded by that of a higher power.

Under these disadvantages she might well have lost all reliance on herself. She was not even supplied with the means of carrying out her own schemes. She was left without money, without arms, without the power to pardon,—more important, with a brave and generous race, than the power to punish. Thus, destitute of resources, without the confidence of her employer, with the people stoutly demanding concessions on the one side, with the sovereign sternly refusing them on the other, it is little to say that Margaret was in a false position. Her position was deplorable. She ought not to have remained in it a day after she found that she could not hold it with honor. But Margaret was too covetous of power readily to resign it. Her misunderstanding with her husband made her, moreover, somewhat dependent on her brother.

At last came the Compromise and the league. Margaret's eyes seemed now to be first opened to the direction of the course she was taking. This was followed by the explosion of the iconoclasts. The shock fully awoke her from her delusion. She was as zealous for the Catholic Church as Philip

himself; and she saw with horror that it was trembling to its foundations. A complete change seemed to take place in her convictions,—in her very nature. She repudiated all those with whom she had hitherto acted. She embraced, as heartily as he could desire, the stern policy of Philip. She proscribed, she persecuted, she punished,—and that with an excess of rigor that does little honor to her memory. It was too late. The distrust of Philip was not to be removed by this tardy compliance with his wishes. A successor was already appointed; and at the very moment when she flattered herself that the tranquillity of the country and her own authority were established on a permanent basis, the duke of Alva was on his march across the mountains.

Yet it was fortunate for Margaret's reputation that she was succeeded in the government by a man like Alva. The darkest spots on her administration became light when brought into comparison with his reign of terror. From this point of view it has been criticised by the writers of her own time and those of later ages.[52] And in this way, probably, as the student who ponders the events of her history may infer, a more favorable judgment has been passed upon her actions than would be warranted by a calm and deliberate scrutiny.

[52] See, among others, Strada, De Bello Belgico, tom. i. p. 128; Guerres civiles du Pays-Bas, p. 128; De Thou, Hist. gén., tom. v. p. 439; and Renom de Francia, Alborotos de Flandes, MS., who in these words concludes his notice of Margaret's departure: "Dejando gran reputacion de su virtud y un sentimiento de su partida en los corazones de los vasallos de por acá el qual crecio mucho despues ansi continuo quando se describio el gusto de los humores y andamientos de su succesor."

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